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30 January 1985

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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30 January 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSSR PREMIER STROUGAL MEETS GDR'S WEISS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal received GDR Deputy Premier Gerhard Weiss at the Hrzan Palace in Prague on 11 December 1984.

In their conversations both representatives reviewed the results achieved in the intensification of political, economic and cultural relations between the CSSR and GDR. They also evaluated a wider range of issues concerning economic cooperation in the coming year and particularly during the next 5-year plan, now in preparation. In this context they stressed the interest in greater dynamism and the intensification of overall economic and scientific-technological cooperation through more intensive production cooperation and specialization in the most important sectors of the national economy.

CSSR Deputy Premier and State Planning Commission Chairman Svatopluk Potac and GDR Ambassador to the CSSR Helmut Ziebart were present at the meeting.

The chairmen of both segments of the Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the CSSR and GDR, Svatopluk Potac and Gerhard Weiss, held discussions in Prague on 10 and 11 December 1984. At a working session they discussed the measures for the implementation of tasks ensuing from the summit economic conference of CEMA member countries in June 1984, for the fulfillment of agreements between the CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary and CSSR President Gustav Husak and SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker on further intensification of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries as well as the tasks ensuing from the 39th CEMA Plenum. They particularly examined the selected problems of cooperation in the area of science and technology, evaluated the progress in work on coordination of the national economic plans for the 1988-1990 period and on the problems of commodity exchange during the 1984-1985 period.

During the negotiations, the deputy foreign trade ministers of both countries, Alois Hloch and Ditrich Lemke, signed the annual protocol on the commodity exchange between the CSSR and GDR in 1985, which in comparison with 1984 anticipates a further increase in the commodity exchange.

In the company of CSSR Minister of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering Eduard Saul, the chairmen of both sections of the joint committee visited the Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danke Traction Prague plant, which participates in important deliveries to the GDR.

The negotiations took place in an atmosphere of friendly cooperation and complete accord.

10501

CSO: 2400/166

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

**ALBANIAN LEADERS ACKNOWLEDGE GREETINGS**--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania; To comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania: We thank you for the congratulations extended to us on the Albanian people's National Day and we take this opportunity to extend best wishes for prosperity to the Romanian people. We desire that the friendly relations between our peoples should develop ceaselessly. Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Dec 84 p 5 AU]

**SUKRIJA THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR CABLE**--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, On behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and on my own behalf, I express my most cordial thanks for the greetings and best wishes you conveyed to us on 29 November. I take this opportunity to express my satisfaction with the successful development of the friendly relations between the LCY and the RCP and between our two socialist countries. I also wish to express my belief that these relations will consistently develop in the interest of the Yugoslav and Romanian peoples and for the cause of peace, social progress, and socialism throughout the world. Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Dec 84 p 5 AU]

**DJURANOVIC THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR CABLE**--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu: On behalf of the SFRY Presidium and myself personally, I warmly thank you for the congratulations and wishes extended to us on Republic Day. In my turn, I stress, on this occasion, too, the importance we attach to permanently developing friendly relations and ever broader cooperation between our two neighboring countries; in this framework, the continuous nature of our mutual meetings plays an outstanding role. Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Dec 84 p 7 AU]

**BULGARIAN PEACE DELEGATION**--At the invitation of the National Committee for the Defense of Peace, a delegation of the Bulgarian Peace Committee led by Ivan Belchev, chief editor of the review "For the Defense of Peace" and member of the Bureau of the Bulgarian Peace Committee, visited our country from 3-7 December. The guests had talks at the National Committee for the Defense



of Peace, the Institute for South-East European Studies, the Journalists' Council, the Prahova County Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and visited sociocultural establishments in Bucharest and Prahova County. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Dec 84 p 5 AU]

AWARD PRESENTED TO POLAND'S JABLONSKI--Bucharest, 26 Dec (AGERPRES)--Under a presidential decree signed by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, the order "The Star of the Socialist Republic of Romania" First Class, with Sash, was conferred on Henryk Jablonski, president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, on his 75th birthday, for his outstanding contribution to the development of the ties of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, to the promotion of the general cause of socialism, peace and collaboration worldwide. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 26 Dec 84 AU]

CEAUSESCU GREETES JABLONSKI ON BIRTHDAY--To Comrade Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Warsaw: On your 75th birthday, I have the pleasure of extending to you warm congratulations and most cordial wishes for health, stamina, and new successes in your highly responsible activity for the flourishing and prosperity of the Polish People's Republic. I take this opportunity to express the conviction that the traditional Romanian-Polish relations of friendship and cooperation will continue to expand and develop, to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Dec 84 p 1 AU]

HUNGARIAN COUNCIL GREETES ALBANIAN ASSEMBLY--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Albania's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution, we convey our sincere greetings and congratulations. The Hungarian people recall with respect the struggle and sacrifices of the Albanian people against fascism and appreciate highly the efforts made during the past four decades to build their country, develop the national economy, and flourish culturally. The People's Republic of Hungary continues to make efforts to develop relations between our two countries in all fields in the service of socialism, peace, and in the interest of our two peoples. In the name of the Hungarian working people, we wish further successes to the Albanian people working to build socialism. [Text] [Message to Presidium of People's Assembly of People's Socialist Republic of Albania from the Presidency Council of the People's Republic of Hungary] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 84 p 3 AU]

ALBANIAN LEADERS ACKNOWLEDGE ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS--Berlin (ADN)--Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers: We thank you for the congratulations you conveyed to us on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Albania from fascist occupation. We take this opportunity to express our wishes for the well-being of the GDR people. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Dec 84 p 1 AU]



JABLONSKI GREETES ALIA ON NATIONAL DAY--On the occasion of the National Day, the 40th anniversary of Albania's liberation, and the victory of the people's revolution, in the name of the Council of State and of the Polish people, I convey to you and the Albanian people cordial greetings and wishes for success. [Text] [Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 84 p 3 AU]

CSO: 2100/77

ALBANIA

HOXHA, ALIA GREET CAMBODIA ON NATIONAL DAY

AU061405 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 6 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 6 Jan (ATA)--Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the CC of the Party Labor of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following message to Comrade Heng Samrin, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary People's Party of Cambodia, chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Cambodia:

On occasion of the National Day of the People's Republic of Cambodia, in the name of the Albanian People, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and in our names, we convey to you and the Cambodian people warm greetings and wishes.

The Albanian people have followed and follow with sympathy the struggle of the Cambodian people against the plots and intrigues of imperialism, the gangs of Pol Pot and the other enemies of the freedom and independence of the country.

On this marked day for the People's Republic of Cambodia, we wish the Cambodian people fresh successes in consolidating the victories attained, in the all-round development of the national economy and culture, and in the defence of the homeland.

We express our conviction that the relations of friendship between our two peoples and countries strengthen and develop continuously to the common benefit and the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

CSO: 2020/44

ALBANIA

SHULTZ-GROMYKO TALKS CREATE 'NEW ILLUSIONS'

AU101238 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 10 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 10 Jan (ATA)—The joint communique, released following the end of two day talks between the American Secretary of State, Shultz, and the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in Geneva, stressed that they talked on the agenda and the objectives of the future Soviet-American talks on nuclear weapons and those in space. The communique repeated the known slogans on the alleged desire of the superpowers to limit or reduce nuclear weapons.

From the content of the communique itself it becomes clear that it has been carefully drafted so as to create new illusions in the world public opinion and to force the people to place the fates of peace and of their security into the hands of the superpowers. In fact, the meeting between the chiefs of Soviet and American diplomacy was held in top secrecy and it defined the objectives of new arms bargainings, which are not calculated to stop the arms race or to reduce the existing huge stockpiles, but to reestablish the balance between them on the bases of the imperialist theory of "Equilibrium of Force." During the meeting the two sides agreed on a new stage of talks and on new "disarmament" forces, which will not have a better fate than the previous ones. The American and Soviet officials themselves admitted before and after the Geneva meeting that results should not be expected from these talks soon.

What was achieved in the Geneva meeting was in fact the establishment of "a new bridge" which will serve to strengthen the counterrevolutionary dialogue between the two superpowers, to coordinate the other plans to the detriment of the interests of the peoples and the other countries of the world. As Gromyko pointed out the Geneva meeting is a secure step towards Soviet-American dialogue.

CSO: 2020/44

## HEAVY SNOW, RAINS CREATE 'DIFFICULT SITUATION'

Tropoje, Lushnje, Fier Districts Affected

AU090940 Tirana ATA in English 0932 GMT 9 Jan 85

["Immediate Measures To Cope With the Difficulties Created by Heavy Precipitations"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 9 Jan (ATA)--Heavy snow continues to fall for several days in the district of Tropoje. In some zones such as in Nikaj-Mertur, Valbone, Cerem, Padesh and elsewhere, snow has reached 3m, whereas in the town of Bajram Curri its level is up to 1.5m. This has created difficulties which are being coped with through immediate and effective measures. Under the guidance of the party, the organs of the state power in the district and at the base are organising and carrying out a good work to normalize the situation in all directions within the shortest possible time. Great efforts are made to keep the roads open, to secure the fire-wood, to secure the functioning of bakeries, the supply of the population with the necessary goods, etc. Meanwhile, a great number of lorries with chained tyres link the town with other dwelling centers.

Particular importance is being attached to the application of these measures in the villages, where special units are working to clear the snow from the homes, the cattle-stables, and to open the roads for the movement of the beasts of burden. The trade units have stored the necessary reserves for the supply of the cooperativists with foodstuffs and industrial articles. The working people of electric network and telecommunications are ensuring the uninterrupted supply of the electric power and the regular communication with the villages.

The heavy rains that have fallen in the district of Lushnje over the last days, more than 170mm, have created a difficult situation in some thousands of hectares of land sown to wheat or fodder, or ploughed for the spring sowings. Under such conditions, the councils of the cooperatives and the boards of the agricultural enterprises, under the leadership of the party organizations, have taken the necessary measures to overcome the difficulties created. More than 6,000 cooperativists and working people of agriculture are working with extraordinary mobilisation every day to drain the lands. In the meantime, pumping stations worked non-stop to clear the excessive water from the sown lands.

Such difficulties have been created also in the fields of some agricultural economies in Fier district. In the face of this extraordinary situation, following the example of the communists, thousands of cooperativists, working people of agricultural enterprises are working untiringly to overcome the difficulties created within the shortest possible time.

#### Weather Causes Supply Problems

AU101125 Tirana ATA in English 1036 GMT 10 Jan 85

["Work Goes on With Courage and Extraordinary Mobilisation to Overcome the Weather Difficulties"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 10 Jan (ATA)--In the greatest part of Puke District the snow, which is falling for days on end, reached the level of two meters, the highest one being recorded in the zone of Iballa. The working people and the cooperativists are coping with the difficulties created through courage and extraordinary mobilisation. An important front of work is keeping the roads open to ensure the supply of the population with the necessary articles. To this end the working people of the road repairing enterprise, of MTS, of vehicle park, etc., the trade enterprise and that of repairing are providing a good solution for the problems of the supply and the public service. Special units have been set up in the city to prevent the damage of industrial and social and cultural projects from snow. Likewise, in the countryside the attention has been concentrated on the uninterrupted supply of the cooperativist families with the necessary articles, on the protection of livestock, etc.

The difficult conditions created by snow are bringing to the fore even more the will of the people in Mat District to overcome this calamity caused by weather. All the means of road repairing enterprise, as well as many means of MTS are engaged in the work to clear the roads from snow which has reached the level of one meter. The transport of chrome ore and of timber from the 5th sector has continued uninterruptedly.

But the concern for the people is at the center of the attention of the party organs in the district these days. Priority has been given to the supply of the population with foodstuffs and with all the necessary articles, particularly of the inhabitants living in remote mountainous areas. To this end a good work is being done by the special youth teams set up to carry out this task. The cooperativist young men and women are also working with mobilisation to create the suitable conditions for the livestock, to ensure the fodder under the stables, etc. Good measures have been taken also in the workers centers in remote zones so that the workers are supplied with all the necessary materials in these cold days.



## Floods, Avalanches Create Havoc

AU110951 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 11 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 11 Jan (ATA)--Over the recent day, particularly beginning from 6 January, heavy rains and snow have fallen and continue to fall in the entire territory of the country. In the districts of Vlore, Fier, Lushnje, Durres and Lezhe, as a result of continuous rain more than 10 thousand hectares of land sown to grain, forage and other crops have been flooded. In the northern districts, namely in Kukes, Tropoje, Puke, Diber, Mirdite and Mat, snow is more than 1m high and in some places it has reached the level of 3 meters. There have been cases of avalanches in the districts of Puke, Diber and Kukes. The rains have been often accompanied by storms and have made difficult especially in the communication and transport, in the districts of Puke, Kukes, Diber, Mirdite and Tropoje.

The ATA correspondent was told at the Council of Ministers yesterday that in order to cope with the extraordinary situation as well as with the great difficulties created by the weather conditions, the state power organs in the districts, the ministries and the other central departments, under the leadership of the party, have taken immediate measures to keep open the communication routes, to ensure the normal supply of the people with foodstuffs, fuel and water, the necessary fodder base for livestock, the supply of the industrial projects and of the population with electric power and the regular operation of the telecommunications. Special staffs have been set up and operate in all the parts to liquidate the consequences from heavy rainfall and snow.

In spite of the measures taken, under the conditions when heavy rains and snow continue to fall, it is necessary that the organs of the state power and of the economy should concentrate their attention on fully adopting the technical-organisational measures to clear the lands from flooding through a better use of pumping stations and the opening up of the drainage canals, to remove the snow from the roofs, of the houses, of economic, social and cultural projects and in particular to open up the motor roads in the northern districts and establish the communications links.

The situation created requires that all the working people rise to their feet as a single man and, working with the spirit of action, under the leadership of the party, should avert and liquidate as soon as possible the consequences created by the heavy precipitations, should cope with the extraordinary situation created by this calamity of nature realising at the same time the tasks of the state plan.

## Avalanches Claim Numerous Victims in North

AU111423 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 11 Jan 85

[Text] As a result of the precipitations which continued during the night of 10-11 January, the situation remains difficult in many areas throughout the

country. It is particularly severe in the northern districts of Puke, Kukes, Tropoje, Diber, in the Shkoder highlands, and so forth. In many areas the snow is over 2 meters high. Avalanches have caused victims. The latest reports say that 20 people died in Puke District, and two were injured; eight people were killed in Kukes District, and 19 were injured; three people died in Diber District; in Lezhe District, two people died and four were injured; in Tropoje District, 1 person died and another one was injured, and one person died in Shkoder.

All our people feel the deep sorrow of the bereaved families. The party and the people's power are close to them in these moments, together with all our people.

There has also been considerable material damage. A number of houses and stables have collapsed, and there have been electricity telephone cuts as a result of damaged lines. Roads leading to Puke, Kukes, and Tropoje have been blocked. The Burrel-Peshkopi road is passable only intermittently.

Acting on the instructions of the AWP Central Committee and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, all party and state organs at the center and in the districts have adopted special measures and are working intensively to cope with and normalize the situation that has been created. The working masses have risen everywhere to eliminate possible dangers, to safeguard lives, and to secure adequate fodder supplies and shelter for cattle. Army units, volunteers, and civil defense forces have been mobilized and are working to open up the roads that have been blocked and to keep them open.

Acting on special instructions by the AWP Central Committee and the government, special measures have been adopted to supply the population in northern areas with essential commodities to ensure that foodstuffs, electricity, fuels, and other commodities are not lacking anywhere.

A decisive force in coping with the situation is the socialist solidarity forged by the party. In the areas afflicted by this natural calamity, maximal efforts should be made to secure lives and to avoid dangers caused by the bad weather. Like one single body, and acting upon the party's slogan: One for all and all for one, our working people must work with a high degree of mobilization and a lofty patriotic spirit.

CSO: 2020/43

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

ALIA, CARCANI GREET CUBA--Tirana, 1 Jan (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, sent the following message of greetings to the head of the State Council and Government of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro. "On occasion of the National Day of the Republic of Cuba, on behalf of the Albanian People, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and in our names, we extend to you the sincere greetings and to the Cuban people the best wishes for happiness and prosperity." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 1 Jan 85 AU]

CARCANI ATTENDS MEETING ON AGRICULTURE--Tirana, 10 Jan (ATA)--A meeting was organized in Lushnje City on the exchange of the advanced experience and on fixing the most efficient ways for the further growth of the agricultural and livestock production. Attending it were secretaries of the party bureaus, leading cadres and specialists of the agricultural economies of the district, as well as cadres and specialists from the scientific agricultural institutions of the country. Present in the meeting were also the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Carcani and other comrades. [Excerpts] [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 10 Jan 85 AU]

CSO: 2020/44

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN TURKS CONDEMNED FOR ADHERING TO RELIGIOUS NUPTIALS

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 27 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Lawyer Sabri Ibrakhimov: "A Family Without Marriage?"]

[Text] I would like to raise a question specific to the Bulgarian Turks. In our nation there are regions where the young people gather and found families with two or three children without concluding a civil marriage. At times, this is a result of religious fanaticism which still prevails among some. A similar phenomenon has been observed in the conurbation system of Mineralni Bani, Khaskovo Okrug. In Kurdzhali Okrug, according to the most recent data, in 1983-1984, there are 994 families without a civil marriage. Naturally, poor control by the involved bodies also contributes to this harmful phenomenon which is incompatible with the socialist way of life. And what sort of equality can there be between men and women with such a situation. What remains of social security both for the wife and for the children? Or will they be the victims of common law according to the dogmas of the Koran and the Moslem religion where the man is the head of the family and he can act as he so wishes.

For this reason we propose that the legislation provide specific penalties for people who establish families without concluding a civil marriage as well as for those who conceal these. There can be no doubt that the sociopolitical organizations, the state enterprises and institutions, the labor collectives and the entire community will help in overcoming the vestiges of the past and that everything possible will be done to turn the new man to tomorrow in step with the new laws of a developed society.

10272  
CSO: 2200/85

BULGARIA

# INTERIOR MINISTRY CHIEF INSPECTOR CRITICIZES INEFFICIENCY

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 19 Dec 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Maj Gen Nikola Cherkezov, chief of the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs: "Supervision and Effective Aid in Carrying Out Tasks"]

[Text] The main Leninist principle in the activities of the party and state, as creatively developed by the BCP Central Committee in every stage of our development, has been the carrying out of systematic control, as a decisive condition for implementing the party decisions.

The questions of control, a check on execution and aid have always been given the required attention from the leadership of the ministry and the departments. The problem of their improving and of increasing their effectiveness is particularly urgent at present. The decisions of the National Party Conference have posed for the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] bodies demands to bring about a qualitative change in all their work, everywhere and in everything. This requires a further improvement in organizational and managerial activities and here the central place is held by control and aid on the spot. For this reason we must seek out and apply new, more diverse forms for their improvement.

The main thing to which attention must be paid in this area, emphasized the Minister of Internal Affairs, Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, is: "On a more integrated and complete basis to apply modern and effective means of control, including automated systems, and to increase the exactingness and responsibility of all levels of leaders; a larger part of control should be carried out on the spot and in the divisions where the tasks are directly carried out, in combining control with help."

Control and help must provide the prompt, high quality and effective fulfillment of the basic tasks of each division, service and unit as well as good results from the work of each official. For the basic divisions of the ministry, this means control and aid must ultimately contribute to good successes in the struggle to prevent, check and disclose hostile-criminal activities, to help the economy and aid in its development, to ensure good social order as well as make optimum use of scientific and technical achievements and the available equipment for carrying out the tasks.



This can be achieved if systematic control is provided and help given in promptly, precisely and steadily carrying out the party documents, the orders, directives, instructions and all other enforceable enactments which regulate the tasks, work organization and practical activities of the MVR bodies. The nonfulfillment, like the poor fulfillment of one or another provision of a guiding document, must be viewed as something reprehensible and an action or inaction involving culpability and which is reflected negatively on the struggle of the divisions to protect socialist property against criminal encroachments and for creating a social and living environment which most fully and actually provides conditions for creative labor, order and tranquility as well as secure political, moral and legal protection of the citizens.

Control and check on execution cannot be all-encompassing and effective if they do not cover the precise observance of prescribed order in the divisions. Prescribed order is that entire system of relationships, procedures and rules on which are based discipline, combat readiness, a healthy climate and the continuous activities of the divisions as well as the life in them.

Irrespective of the diversity of the enforceable enactments, which govern the tasks, activities and prescribed order in the MVR bodies, they are not a mechanical collection but rather a system of legal prescripts linked together by an inner unity. They are the legal basis for correctly organizing our work and for strictly observing legality. For this reason, control, checks and exactingness in terms of their fulfillment and observance must be carried out constantly and unswervingly and also must be combined with indoctrinational work and correctly employed disciplinary practices.

Control and checks must be organized and carried out in such a manner that they promptly spot individual oversights, violations and weaknesses; so that they prevent the developing of oversights into chronic shortcomings and failings in work. The main thing is to disclose the reasons for the failures and to take measures which will carry out control and help fully; not to let off until the situation has changed.

The basic demand on control and help is the applying of a party approach in carrying them out. They must optimally aid the administrative and practical activities of the divisions in fully disclosing and identifying the social nature of the phenomena and the processes of protecting our system, as well as the changing of these in the desired direction. In exercising control and a check on execution, there must be a thorough study and evaluation of the end results from the work of the divisions, individual units and officials as well as their political effect and action. Attention must be paid to the political situation and the advisability of every measure and professional action and to what degree the officials have established a realistic criterion for a political approach in their work.

The decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference as well as the new theoretical concepts and practical approaches of Comrade T. Zhivkov demand that control and help contribute decisively to a change and reorganization in the thinking of all officials and collectives. Thinking is not an abstract concept. It is manifested in the actions and deeds of the

officials, in their attitude toward their job and the carrying out of missions, in their conduct in personal life and society; it is manifested in the diverse activities of the divisions and the results of these activities. For this reason in the process of control and help, implacability must be shown against negative manifestations and phenomena, particularly against laxness, indifference, complacency, the acceptance of mediocre results, the covering up of weaknesses and shortcomings, fictitious reporting of successes and fulfillment of the plans, personal gain and other deviations from party and official principles in work. Control and help must aid actively in overcoming incorrectly formed habits, practices and views found among some of the personnel and this is neither easy nor simple. The evaluation of the work and the results, of the moral-political state in the collectives and the conduct of the officials must be carried out on the basis of the higher sociopolitical, moral and aesthetic criteria formulated by the party.

It must be said that viewed from the standpoint of the present-day party and official requirements, control and help in the MVR bodies evidence many essential shortcomings.

A number of divisions continue to give evidence of a reduced feeling of responsibility, a tolerance of weaknesses and disciplinary violations, liberalism, avoiding "clashes" with unconscientious officials and deviations from the laws, regulations and rules of the MVR. Not everywhere have they been able to organize the planned, comprehensive and proper use of all the forms, methods and opportunities of control and help. There has been one-sidedness in this regard. For example, the leadership of certain divisions very often relies predominantly on the hearing of reports, information and accounts often drawn up on the basis of statistical data and other printed materials. In such instances they forget that a control and check, as was emphasized by Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "are primarily vital work with the people," and that they require "a skillful approach--strict, exacting and at the same time conscientious."

Control is not always carried out with sufficient organization and systematicness and help provided to the basic services of the Sofia City and okrug directorates of the MVR as well as the rayon directorates where the tasks are directly carried out. Little use is made of a comprehensive check which is a proven good form for a periodic review and assessment and all activities of the division. Controls and checks are not always carried out with the necessary competence, thoroughness and exactingness. For this reason it is no accident that after one or two checks have been made the situation does not improve in certain divisions. Chronic shortcomings continue to exist and severe or systematic violations in discipline and errors in work are made.

Improving the quality and effectiveness of the administrative activities in the divisions requires that control and aid be raised to the level of the tasks and the nature of carrying them out. This requires improved organization and implementation of them on a planned basis; daily strict control and direct help must lie at the basis of the work style and methods of the solely responsible leaders and managers of all levels, since they are an irreplaceable part of the management system.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WESTERN INDIVIDUALISM CONDEMNED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 24 Oct 84 pp 8-9

[Article by Eva Horejsova: "Badly Masked Goals"]

[Excerpts] In the West is every individual really the "sole master" of his life? And what about the socialist countries: Is there an effort to suppress individualism, the needs and interests of individuals? Various subversive propaganda radio stations place, instead of a question mark, a period or more often an exclamation point after these and other claims.

To their basic "obligations" (in addition to slander, disinformation concerning socialism, and magnifying our own shortcomings) during the 1970s and 1980s they added a "new" task: to poison the social climate of the socialist countries by propagating the ideals of consumerism, by emphasizing the value orientations of capitalism, and by undermining confidence in achieving the final goal of Marxist-Leninist ideology, namely a classless, socially equitable society. The editorial teams have been strengthened by experienced specialists in psychological warfare, while the budgets of Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and Voice of America have been increased, the program structure "improved," and the anticommunist tone of the broadcasts sharpened.

More than ever before and with greater "emphasis" the waves of the subversive stations use statements according to which the socialist countries are a society of captive nations where the personality of the individual is disappearing in the midst of collectivism and stereotypes. The authors of programs of this type aim to create the notion at least among some of our people that education in the collectivist spirit, which is an indivisible part of the ideological work of the CPCZ, is basically a "disguised effort" to suppress individual differences and to achieve uniformity not only in our way of life but also in our characteristics, desires, needs, and interests.

Consequently, the subversive propaganda radio stations offer by way of contrast the individualism of citizens in the Western countries, an alleged result of the emancipation of the individual from personal dependency, a manifestation of the intellectual power and will to act on the basis of one's own mind which makes the individual decide his wishes and goals and become the "sole master" of his own life. Interpreted in this way, individualism is considered to be a driving force of progress, an element of contemporary civilization based on mutual competition between the people, on the natural desire of each individual for self-assertion and success.

Naturally, the Western European countries and especially the United States are presented as ideal societies where people are not at all limited in their activities, and where everybody can live according to his or her own ideas and preferences. However, what is the reality? The constant concern about securing the most basic needs--minimal food, clothing, housing--permanently prevents millions of people from developing any esthetic, intellectual, or social interests.

After all, is the life of the so-called middle class, with its material abundance and comfort so much exalted by Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, really a good example to be followed? Does it provide enough room and possibilities for living a full life and for expressing one's own individuality as so often emphasized by our ideological rivals?

A number of Western scientists who are not at all friends of socialism have reached the conclusion in the last 20 years that the opposite is true. The life of ordinary citizens in Western Europe, the United States, and also in Canada and Australia is becoming more and more homogenized (in the sense of "Americanization"), not only as far as material aspects are concerned but also in a cultural and psychological sense. John K. Galbraith, Charles Reich, Charles Percy Snow, and others have often stated in their books that the citizens of these countries were forced, in the interest of capitalist production through school education, the influence of the mass media, films and TV programs, and the all-pervasive commercials, to display unified stereotyped behavior and actions. Big business has succeeded, with the help of the most recent discoveries of modern psychology, in achieving a leveling of needs, desires, tastes, value orientations and people's conscience.

The interests of the monopolies require that in the capitalist countries the ownership of material things and their active consumption be considered a personification of human happiness and a symbol of success. The more extravagant the consumed things, the greater the happiness, success, and envy of others. Consequently, most people in these countries today consider consumption as the major element through which they can realize their own identity. For this reason, the acquisition of material possessions has become the priority in their entire activity, the only practical way to persuade themselves and others of their own "value".

The necessity to behave in accordance with the existing stereotypes, to adjust oneself to the enforced standard, inevitably leads to distortions in the psyche of the individual. His individuality is confused, as conceded by numerous bourgeois sociologists, becomes a mere stereotype, a synthesis of certain characteristics, interests, and needs determined by advertizing regardless of his real potential, talent, and ability.

The climax of the dictates of the social standard is the existence of the binding norms which determine precisely for the individual strata of the "middle class" the place and quality of housing, type of car, style of clothing, overall outward appearance and circle of friends. The failure to respect these norms is often sanctioned not only by public opinion but also by descent on the social and often career ladder.



The psychology of consumerism (which of course is now undermined as a consequence of economic recession) dominating the life of the advanced capitalist countries affects and significantly distorts relations among people as well. Mutual contacts are made not because of sympathies or common interests but on the basis of utility, advantage, and the possibility of future reciprocal services. Instead of friendship, solidarity, respect, sympathy, and willingness to help, the consciousness of the people believing in the ideals of consumerism is dominated by excessive envy of anybody who is one notch ahead on the consumer ladder and an arrogant contempt of all those who fail to keep up with the Joneses, who lag behind, or have even "dropped out of the game."

The orientation of Western society toward consumption, or rather pseudo-consumption, is, however, not dictated merely by the economic interests of the monopolies but also by its own political reasons. "A society with the abundance of possibilities marching toward its future with confidence, which is based on belief, honesty and conviction that the brave and good people will do well if they remain free...these are the secrets of a strong and prosperous America," stated Ronald Reagan in this year's State of the Union message. Yes, the individual indentified with the criteria of consumerism who joins the competition for prestige expressed by material symbols identifies himself at the same time to a great extent with the capitalist system. He ceases to be interested in eliminating exploitation and in introducing a socially more equitable social system. He can lose the ability to develop himself as well as the need to be useful to other people. The chains of belief in the consumer ideal and the overall social atmosphere in which he lives block his reason and do not permit him to think and act independently. The result of all this is the orientation of his entire activity solely toward achieving personal advantage and benefits. A passivity in life outside of the narrow framework of his private affairs, an unwillingness to get involved in the solution of social and political conflicts--is this not a suitable object of manipulation by the ruling elite?

It is obvious that presenting capitalism as a society which maximally permits the development of human individuality, as is done by the workers of subversive propaganda stations--apologists of the capitalist systems--is nothing more than rhetoric, a purposeful distortion of the real situation in the Western world. Even more absurd is their assertion that education in collectivism conceals an effort to negate the differences between people, an effort to unify their thinking and acting.

In one respect, however, our enemies are not mistaken. In our socialist system the life of the individual is really not understood as an exclusively private affair. Socialism is the first social system in the history of mankind that gradually transforms material and spiritual prerequisites toward the multifaceted, harmonious development of each and every individual. The goal of socialist life is to create a situation in which all people without distinction can live a full, satisfied, and happy life based not only on material security but also on the moral health of the entire society, on good, comradely human relations with no place for mutual animosity, envy, feeling of superiority or contempt for others.



One of the most important prerequisites for good human relations and a healthy social climate is socialist collectivism. We understand this as a life orientation of the individual who feels firmly attached to the society of which he is a member, who enjoys the society's successes, and who is always ready to participate in the elimination of difficulties and shortcomings in life.

Nobody who really accepts collectivism as his own can consider himself an exceptional individual, can manifest any feeling of superiority over others, or demonstratively show the "independence" or "greatness" of his individuality. Under no circumstances does he try to meet his needs, aspirations, and desires to the detriment of other people or the whole society. On the contrary, he is willing to recognize the needs and interests of others.

Education for collectivism thus decidedly does not aim at liquidating the differences among individuals. On the contrary, it guides each individual toward the active development of his gifts and talents, discovering hidden potential, mobilizing the physical and spiritual forces not in the interest of an entrepreneur but in the interest of developing himself and the whole society.

Neither does collectivism eliminate mutual competition among people. However, it injects into this competition a new dimension, new criteria, while in capitalist societies the emphasis is on material possessions identified with personal achievements and quality regardless of the means used to acquire these possessions. Hence, in a capitalist society each and every talented individual must use his abilities primarily for acquiring from the common pool the biggest share for himself, regardless of the poverty and deprivation among those who are less talented or less lucky.

Certainly, even in our country there are many individuals who are not actively involved, who consider themselves "not fully appreciated," who have locked themselves into their own private shell, who feel superior to the rest of our society, ignore the positive aspects of our lives and take advantage of our problems. They have made their own persons the alpha and omega of their entire effort, they ignore everything and everybody else, they believe that everything must be done only for their own personal benefit and private well-being. Their desire for an above-average standard of living, luxury goods, their effort to imitate the standard of living of the so-called upper classes in capitalist societies often leads to their antisocial behavior, their pilfering of socialist property, various forms of speculation in goods in short supply, the abuse of their positions, corruption and bribery. These people cause not "only" material damage but also moral damage. They are a negative example for their fellow citizens and especially for our young people. Their absolute disdain of the interests and needs of society as a whole makes life bitter for others, influences their mood and attitudes, and undermines the willingness for honest work.

Our enemies are well aware that excessive individualism--this manifestation of "intellectual superiority"--or the escape into one's private microcosm is in direct contrast with our needs. Hence, they consider these people as their potential allies and use all the means at their disposal to encourage their further existence.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

QUALIFIED GRADUATES STILL IN SHORT SUPPLY

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 16 Nov 84 pp 1, 5

[Article by Engr Milan Kysely, CSc, Czechoslovak deputy minister of labor and social affairs]

[Excerpts] Our society spends huge sums on training qualified workers. This assures the necessary development of the training-educational system, which is demonstrated by the higher qualifications of our working people.

In future we expect a further increase in the share of higher education because in the long run some 15 to 16 percent of the 18-year-olds will enter a university each year. We will also determine the possibility of enrollment in academic high schools and secondary vocational schools for 36 to 40 percent of the 14-year-olds. Another 9 percent of the 14-year-olds will end their apprenticeship with a school-leaving examination.

As shown by the need for a more active national economy and a change in its structure in the direction of the most progressive and most effective production branches, it will be imperative to improve further the system of education of the working people so as to make possible their timely preparation and adaptation to changing labor conditions. Scientific-technical progress, as is well known, requires better qualification of a large number of working people during their entire productive life.

In view of the seriousness of these questions for the further development of the national economy, the Czechoslovak Government discussed at its meeting on 17 May 1984 a report concerning the existing method of placement of graduates of secondary schools and universities and the information concerning the use of employees who reached the indicated educational level in the national economy and adopted Resolution No 133/84. Attached to this resolution is the Set of Measures for Improving the Method of Planning and Placing Secondary School and University Graduates and Better Utilization of the Achieved Education in Practice.

Based on the knowledge and problems which appeared at the end of the Sixth 5-Year Plan according to which certain schools trained more students than required by prospective employers and when employers in hiring graduates demanded other qualifications than those prescribed at the time of entering

school, from the beginning of the Seventh 5-Year Plan we saw the effort of employers to spell out precisely their needs and the observance of planning discipline by both employers and schools. More information was exchanged between the two, which made it possible to harmonize more closely the necessary numbers of graduates for various branches of the national economy with the capacities of individual schools.

Further improvement will be achieved through the decision to have the projected needs for qualified employees parallel more closely the long-range perspectives of the national economy.

The methodical instructions for the preparation of the Eighth 5-Year Plan will direct the ministries and the kraj national committees to submit documentation concerning the needs of employers for university and secondary school graduates with an apprenticeship in a specific or allied branch in accordance with categories of training or study disciplines. Compared to the existing situation, this is improved planning because it will make possible a more precise projection regarding the need for graduates of different schools.

The needs of the national economy for qualified workers will be higher with the more multifaceted and active utilization of the results of scientific and technical progress in individual branches and with the greater demand for effective and precise work and the growing interest in creative work and initiative at all levels of management. We expect that the significance of these factors in the planning of qualified workers will increase in the future.

Part of this effort must also be improved advisory activity in the area of professional orientation of young people at basic schools, secondary vocational schools, and academic high schools in such a way as to better ensure the harmony between the interests of young people planning individual forms of vocational training, their personal talents, and the needs of the national economy.

The quality of the planning process and advisory activity will also actively influence the possibility of placing the graduates. The placement process depends, however, on detailed knowledge and information, which employers, in cooperation with schools, must offer to graduates.

The lists of job openings available to graduates are being constantly updated and checked. This is very responsible, demanding, and so far also administratively relatively complicated work, which must be rationalized and simplified by transferring a higher degree of responsibility for placing the graduates to the independent management organizations.

However, there are problems when many graduates refuse to work outside their place of residence or away from the location of their school. Often they refuse to take jobs in other okreses and also in enterprises which had granted them a stipend based on the students' commitment to work for them after graduation. The graduates usually voluntarily return the amount of the stipends they had received and join other enterprises which offer them other advantages.

These events show the insufficient feeling of civic responsibility of such graduates who pay more attention to their own personal interests to the detriment of the needs of society. They also illustrate the misuse of the fact that our society offers free study and creates a sufficient number of job opportunities. There are also cases where the graduates make a binding promise to several enterprises to accept a position and then do not have enough of a sense of responsibility to inform in time those enterprises whose offers they turn down.

In spite of the fact that we do not anticipate any revival of the administrative forms of graduate placement, it is necessary to solve problems related to the understanding of societywide needs by certain graduates actively. For this we need assistance through the educational process in families and schools, systematic cooperation between enterprises and schools and prospective graduates, and the activity of social organizations, especially the Socialist Youth Union.

The failure of some graduates to understand social needs and their lack of interest in working under more demanding conditions--not only in those study disciplines which do not have enough students but also in those where there are many applicants, such as in law or medicine--reduces the utilization of major facilities in economically important places.

The improvement in the process of training, placement, and the use of qualified workers will be made more effective by the proper remuneration of graduates. The development of technique and technology increases the demands on the work of certain vocations and in many cases requires that the most demanding manual labor positions be given to graduates completing secondary education culminating in a school-leaving examination and, in isolated cases, university graduates. Hence, we will regulate those wage rates applying to academic high school and secondary vocational school graduates in difficult manual labor jobs. Thus, the ministries and the kraj national committees will have an obligation to academic high school and secondary vocational school graduates for work in demanding manual labor jobs.

It will also be possible to assign university graduates when they start to work and during the subsequent period to jobs as assistants (trainees).

We expect that as long as working conditions change under the impact of science and technology, this will be reflected in qualification requirements. The ministries and general directorates will be able to list additional qualification requirements for necessary specializations. This should make it possible for graduates with broad academic training to adjust faster to concrete working conditions.

Starting from these increased demands it will be imperative to evaluate existing exemptions from the required education more strictly.

We anticipate the offer of these exemptions only in exceptional cases to experienced specialists who are over 50 in the case of men and over 45 in the case of women. The exceptions granted to younger employees must be reevaluated and in unjustified cases withdrawn.



To the extent that the needs of the national economy for qualified workers change, it will be desirable to make the necessary changes in the capacities of schools and in their technical and territorial organization.

Education is one of the qualifying prerequisites for securing a job. The ability to hold a certain job must be evaluated in accordance with the complexity of the work, and the professional development of each graduate depending on his interest to improve his practical experience, broaden his knowledge, and on his ability to overcome various objective and personal obstacles and difficulties which appear at the workplace, the ability to work in a collective, and to enjoy the necessary authority in it.

The use of the education obtained in the national economy is relatively high. Of the overall number of university graduates, almost 90 percent work in jobs requiring a university education; the figure for secondary school graduates with a school-leaving examination is 64 percent, and for university graduates [as published] almost 16 percent. In individual branches, however, the situation differs widely. Certain engineering branches especially lag behind because they still employ a high number of workers without the necessary qualifications.

It is obvious from these data that we are far from a situation which would permit us to speak about an absolute surplus of graduates of individual types of schools. We do not expect such a surplus to become a reality even in the future because the development of production, science and technology, and the growth in the standard of living will require more educated and qualified workers. However, it will be desirable to pay systematic attention to these questions at all levels of management from the viewpoint of branch and territorial organization, to harmonize the interests of graduates with those of employers, as well as to a gradual reduction in the number of those jobs which do not require qualified work.

1277

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE MAYOR SPEAKS ON MODERNIZATION, DEVELOPMENT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 84 p 3

[Speech by Frantisek Stafa, member of the CPCZ Central Committee, mayor of Prague, at 12th CPCZ Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Much has changed and improved in Prague in the last 15 years. It will always be to the great historic credit of the party leadership headed by Comrade Husak that 130,000 apartments were built during this period, the Prague subway was constructed, the new building of the National Theatre emerged in full glory, and extensive reconstruction of highways started, and engineering projects were completed, such as the Klement Gottwald Bridge, about which our people had dreamt for generations. Due to the care of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR Government, Prague has become one big building site. Construction, repairs and maintenance cost Kcs 12 billion a year. It is very difficult to carry out this construction on a territory where more than 1 million people have to work and live, to coordinate the work of thousands of investors so as not to threaten the smooth working of the urban organism and to preserve at least an acceptable living environment.

In particular, when we speak of Kcs billions which Prague receives or of big construction projects which are carried out on its territory, the impression arises that everything is already secured and solved. The facts, however, demonstrate that this is not so. For example, although 230,000 apartments have been built since Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, our capital remains in the last place among the 15 biggest cities of our country as to the age of residential buildings, percentage of apartments of the third and fourth categories, technical standard and floor space, percentage of one-room apartments, and so on. We still have 6,000 houses with 120 V voltage, the longest waiting periods for the allocation of apartments, and so on. The living environment, particularly with regard to the industrial fall-out, is comparable with the most polluted areas of northern Bohemia.

I could continue along these lines, but that is not the reason for my speech here. Simply stated, it is necessary to realize that even the large funds allocated to Prague in recent years have not been able so far to make up for the deficit of the previous period. As to the solution of the

basic problems of Prague's development, we are in most instances only halfway and sometimes only at the beginning of the road. The greatest progress will be made in the nearest future in the solution of transportation problems. We will put into operation our third subway line next year, and thus we will complete its construction in the downtown area and will be able to concentrate on building connection with other satellite settlements and industrial zones. Together with the gradually reconstructed streetcar network, the subway will carry approximately 70 percent of the passengers using municipal mass transportation. Bus traffic in the downtown area will be significantly restricted and its share in municipal mass transportation will be considerably further curtailed. Construction of the basic highway system will enable us to put into operation two self-contained sections by the end of next year: the southern bypass between the Plzen and Brno freeways and the semicircle industrial detour between the Brno Freeway and main highway from Prague to Decin. This will reduce automobile traffic and will significantly contribute to a calmer atmosphere in the center of Prague. Construction capacities will then concentrate on the completion of the central and internal circuit of the northwestern part of the city.

In the area of comprehensive housing construction there are good prospects for fulfilling, though with difficulties, the plan of apartment construction the third year in a row. We have turned over to use all apartments built during the last 5-year plan, and it seems realistic to reduce to approximately 50 percent the last 5 years' backlog in public utilities and facilities.

However, there will remain a rather large backlog from 1981, when we built only 5,000 apartments. In other words, if we are to meet the 5-year plan target we must complete the construction of as many as 14,000 apartments. This will be the largest number of apartments built in 1 year during the postwar period. Although we face many problems because of the large scope of unfinished projects, technical preparation and participation of many ministries, enterprises and cooperatives, we regard the plan as realistic.

We regard the preparations for reconstruction and modernization of the downtown area as a very important task. Here there are approximately 200,000 old apartments which--if we master the modernization of apartments more effectively than today--can decisively contribute to the solution of the housing shortage in the capital at a lower cost than the construction of new apartments in some outskirts of the city would require.

We are increasingly worried about the slow pace of reconstruction and modernization of Prague industrial plants. The only sector with which we can be satisfied is the food industry sector. During the two 5-year plans, an extensive basis of meat production and processing, bakery products, milk and other products was built and reconstructed. The solution of most remaining problems of the food industry has been incorporated in the draft of the next 5-year plan.

It is furthermore necessary to improve organizational work in order to improve the quality of products and eliminate supply problems, so that large funds invested in this reconstruction and modernization of the food industry will be reflected in greater citizen satisfaction.

We cannot be satisfied, however, with most of the other industrial sectors. This particularly applies to the engineering industry, which represents the principal industrial sector. A number of Prague industrial engineering plants are obsolete from the standpoint of technology and products manufactured. We therefore appeal to the ministries to begin, in cooperation with us, with our active participation and support, more aggressively to modernize Prague's industry in the forthcoming period.

The manner in which some plants manage their highly skilled labor force, and the way in which research and technical potential of the capital, deserves severe criticism, despite all partial successes in the past.

The last sector which I want to mention is the situation in Prague's health care. We do not want to criticize it one-sidedly. We have in Prague health centers which meet world standards. We have dozens of health establishments which can be compared with those abroad. We have large staffs of qualified workers and the situation with instruments and equipment is not too bad, either.

What we lack are beds. The CSR Government discussed just recently the general guidelines for the Prague health sector, which provides for the acquisition of 2,000 beds by the end of the next 5-year plan and an additional 3,000 beds by the end of the century.

The federal government will deal with this program in the near future. We hope that the implementation of this demanding program will be approved. This is necessary not only for the Prague inhabitants alone, but particularly in the specialized departments for the entire republic.

The tasks in the reconstruction of the city, its appearance, improvement of the transportation system, maintenance of historic monuments and a number of other tasks, cannot be mastered by Prague without more significant assistance from the other krajs of our republic. Almost everywhere we encounter the problem of capacities. If our Prague is to become more beautiful every day, we will need more of these capacities during the next period than in the past. It will then be up to us to improve organizational work, to control better and according to the long-term criteria the implementation of correct plans, to make more effective use of our own resources and the assistance of other krajs, enterprises, ministries and also of citizens' participation.

Next year Prague will be the principal center of celebrations of the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army as well as of the statewide Spartakiad. The Prague communists want to welcome this anniversary with their pledges and plans fulfilled. They want to welcome their guests in such a way as to make them feel at home.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JAROSLAV SEIFERT SPEAKS ON PRAGUE TV

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 84 p 5

[Article by (pk): "To Be a Poet"]

[Text] On 9 December Czechoslovak Television telecast an interview with the national artist Jaroslav Seifert, who as the first Czech writer ever had been awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. With his younger poet friends--national artist Miroslav Florian and meritorious artist Jan Pilar--and actually with all TV viewers, all who revere his poetry, Jaroslav Seifert shared his memories, but above all his view of poetry, spoke of his attitude toward life, this land and his native Prague. Jaroslav Seifert's poetry in terms of ideas and forms contributes to one of the powerful branches of the tree of Czech literature of the 20th century. Humanism, pathos for one's native country, and love, values which are inherent in everybody's sincere relation to life. After all, the fact that the readers' response to Seifert's work persists, that the poet still has something to say, is documented by the interest in every new collection of his poems. Let us recall particularly his "Vsechny krasny sveta" [All Beauties of the World], a book of wise and kind reminiscences, "Let us hope," as Jan Pilar said, "that through its recognition by the Nobel Prize the door to the world will be open for Czech poetry." After all, its contribution lies not in beautiful metaphors but primarily in the message that it carries. How has Jaroslav Seifert himself said it? "Lyrical poetry has great potency and affects all things. In other words, it also contributes to peace." There is perhaps nothing to be added to these brief sentences. In the form of aphorism they express what is, must be inherent in every artistic product--responsibility, an effort to make human life better, fuller, and also to defend man against all darkness. To use the title of Seifert's latest collection of poems, they express what it means to be a poet.

10501

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KOZAK SPEAKS ON JASLOVSKE BOHUNICE NUCLEAR PLANT

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Dec 84 p 3

[Speech of Milan Kozak, candidate member of the CPSL Central Committee, manager of the Jaslovske Bohunice Enterprise, at the CPSL Central Committee plenum in December 1984]

[Text] The Seventh 5-Year Plan will be remembered in the history of Czechoslovakia's power industry as the period in which the era of construction of conventional thermal power plants came to an end and rapid construction of new nuclear resources began. At the beginning of November 1984, to the first two units of the V 1 nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice was added the third nuclear reactor VVER 440 as part of the V 2 nuclear power plant now under construction. The first days of trial operation have already demonstrated that this third unit has met the planned parameters and would be a reliable and safe part of the power generating system. With its output of 700 million kWh of electrical energy in 1984, it will significantly contribute to covering the needs of the national economy. For the forthcoming winter period we have available at Jaslovske Bohunice a source of 1,320 MW of installed electric output, which represents 41 percent of the production of electrical energy in Slovakia.

Although the construction of the third unit took longer than originally anticipated, its course must be unequivocally termed successful. Nuclear power plants are new, very demanding works in which the latest scientific and technological knowledge is applied even during the course of construction. The general public has not realized so far that an additional supply of electric energy to the national economy and population at large depends upon the construction of nuclear power plants. Many people regard nuclear power plants as a great burden on the national economy. Such views are also engendered by the fact that khozraschet in the power sector is carried out on the VHLJ [economic production unit] level, and in the methodology of evaluation the efficiency of the power plant is diffused. Direct efficiency is then judged on the basis of investment outlays, which in this instance are very large.

The Slovak Power Generating Enterprises concern has already 6 years of experience with the operation of two reactors of the VVER 400 type. They have confirmed the high reliability, continuity, safety and efficiency of



these reactors. A seminar on the management of nuclear power plants operation took place in Vienna recently. It was organized by the International Atomic Energy Agency and thus offered the possibility of comparing our results with the results of foreign power plants. It is encouraging that our results match the best foreign results in all indicators.

The high efficiency of the operation of the first and second reactors of the Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant under the conditions of the Slovak Power Generating Enterprises is borne out by the fact that if one reactor broke down it would have to be made up for by production in the conventional thermal power plants, and the concern would suffer a loss of Kcs 1 million a day. Two reactors accounted for more than 30 percent of output and 80 percent of profit in the concern last year. The cost of electric energy supplied to the network by the nuclear power plants are 50 percent lower than those of the conventional power plants.

Such successful results could be achieved in the Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant concern enterprise only because of the high activity of communists, good organizational work of the party, trade union and youth organizations and prudent actions of economic management. In practice this meant directing the workers' initiative primarily to the regular fulfillment of tasks, good care of capital assets, quality and intensification of work. During the 1981-1983 period the production of electric energy in the CSSR increased by 3.4 billion kWh, 1.6 billion kWh of which were produced by the V 1 power plant. This large share in the increase--47 percent--makes it abundantly clear how demanding intensification processes have taken place in our first industrial nuclear power plant. We expect to meet the production targets this year successfully as well. Electrical energy production will amount to 7 billion kWh. Electrical energy production by the nuclear power plants during the last 4 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan amounted to 24.1 billion kWh, which represented 31 million tons of brown coal otherwise used in power plants, which were thus saved for the national economy.

The results achieved so far in the operation of nuclear power plants have confirmed that the road we have embarked upon is correct and underscore the demand of our party and economic organs to accelerate the pace of capital investment and of putting the planned nuclear power reactor into operation. The course of construction of the fourth VVER 440 reactor at Jaslovske Bohunice indicates further improvement of work quality and organization. The course of action of supply organizations significantly reflects experience gained in the construction of the third reactor. Measures designed to improve the starting up and running in [of reactors] have been adopted. The successful operation of the third reactor is encouraging. In cooperation with the operator, the general supplier of technology is beginning to implement the program of the second hydrotest. Attention is focused on the completion of assembly and tests of measuring and regulatory equipment.

The present initiative of builders of the V 2 nuclear power plant will result in the signing of a combined international pledge whose purpose is to complete comprehensive tests of the fourth reactor in September 1985 and

to put it into trial operation successfully. The construction and operation of reactor units is carried out in close cooperation with the Soviet experts and production and supply organizations. This cooperation is the guarantee of successful progress. The workers of the Bohunice Nuclear Power Plants concern enterprise are getting ready to perform the production tasks in the last year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan successfully.

10501

CSO: 2400/174

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHURCHMEN MEET IN CSSR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 84 p 2

[Article: "Meeting of Representatives of Churches"]

[Text] The dangerous consequences of the militarization of space were pointed out by prominent U.S. Presbyterian Church member Dr William Thompson during the meeting of representatives of churches in the United States of America and European socialist states which started on 10 December at Karlovy Vary.

"If the Reagan administration plans star wars in space today," Dr Thompson said, "it does so in order to attain an illusory victory or the formation of the so-called permanent system of security." Yet it is evident that in the present international situation a realistic concept must be based on the respect of the nations' common interests, on cooperation and mutual trust.

"A just peace cannot be attained if the security of one state is based on the expense of the security of or threat to another state." Dr Thompson further stated that some statements of President Reagan, such as his description of the Soviet Union as an evil empire, contributed to the worsening of relations between the United States and USSR and consequently also to the interruption of negotiations on disarmament.

The consultations between the representatives of North American churches and churches from the socialist states have been taking place since 1962 alternatively at Karlovy Vary and in the United States, and their purpose is to contribute in frank discussions to the elimination of mistrust and to the strengthening of mutual understanding and peaceful cooperation between the nations and states with different social systems.

10501  
CSO: 2400/166

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

AUSTRIAN TOURIST TRAFFIC HINDERED--Czechoslovakia--According to reports from dissident quarter, the Prague authorities are trying to restrict tourist traffic to Austria and at the same time to collect illegally information about foreigners. Since 1 January 1985, Austrian citizens must not only pledge to defray the expenses for the board and lodgings of Czechoslovak citizens invited by them but must also provide data on their own professions, employers, and annual incomes. Czechoslovak dissidents regard this as a measure on the part of Prague to put Austrian hosts under pressure. [Text] [Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 7 Jan 85 AU]

CSO: 2300/236

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PEOPLE'S CHAMBER: 'PLACE OF EXEMPLARY ORDER, DISCIPLINE'

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 3 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by A. Hinze: "Conflicting Opinions Unknown Here"]

[Text] The most relaxed figure in the GDR's People's Chamber is undoubtedly Erich Honecker in person. Last Friday, for example. There, where Helmut Kohl would be sitting the People's Chamber would be the Bundestag, the chief of state and party sits on the bench of the State Council and, openly reclined, announces with body language how well he feels and who is in charge here. Turned in a kindly fashion toward the speakers on the podium he occasionally nods to them with encouragement, now and then he also personally gives the signal for applause from the entire room. Now and then he and Egon Krenz, second man in the state, if you will, put their heads together and are visibly amused. Of course, Krenz is sitting where Hans-Dietrich Genscher would be sitting if this were the Bundestag and not the People's Chamber.

On the other side of the rostrum, the right side, where the GDR government has its place, only government chief Willi Stoph displays similar looseness, even if clearly restrained and cooler. In the middle, where the hammer and sickle in the wreath of wheat ears gleam massively and with a pale gold color on the front wall, Horst Sindermann, president of the parliament, presides.

The official props of a parliamentary president include, as everyone knows, a bell in case a disturbance breaks out and quiet must once again be restored. Sindermann also has such a bell, of course a very small one, sort of a hand-bell. It has not been revealed whether Sindermann has ever had to ring it. The People's Chamber is a "domain of exemplary order and discipline." In the socialist competition in the GDR such places are decorated with an enameled plaque. If anywhere at all, it would belong on the front of the GDR parliament in the Palace of the Republic on East Berlin's Marx-Engels Platz.

Unlike the plenary hall of the Bundestag, the plenary hall of the People's Chamber is a real plenary hall in the sense of the Latin word. The People's Chamber plenum is in fact full, which means: full of deputies whenever the People's Chamber meets. This it does twice a year, once in the spring, once in the fall. Then the 500 delegates travel a few hours to their destination, and then, there they are and they persevere with iron discipline. There is no whispering or chatting, there is no coming and going in the corridors, no



hectic deadlines are observed in the lobby or restaurant, not even outside the building, there prevails totally rapt attentiveness as if the most thrilling things in the world were being told. Only backbenchers permit themselves bashful leafing through some newspapers or other, mostly illustrateds, in any case, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND is not among them. This time even in the forward rows a lady delegate was seen to be engrossed in a book during Stoph's speech; of course, she had it hidden under the desk. That kind of bad behavior must, however, be considered totally atypical.

The recorders in the People's Chamber have an easy life, they are not even required to have especially good hearing. No noisy babble of voices disrupts the course of events. The applause must not be localized, for, what must be, must be, it is general. Even heckling shouts scarcely cause a distraction. The most famous one--"What does that have to do with NATO?"--comes from Honecker who used it years ago and plunged his Minister of Defense Heinz Hoffmann into no small confusion when the latter was in the midst of devoting himself to Western rearmament. Even now two shouts from the audience could be heard: "Hear, hear!" said the one, "very right, very true!" said the other. The People's Chamber does not know any difference of opinion.

#### "Full Agreement"

Of course sometimes there is subdued mirth. Is it treasonous that this normally happens when a speaker forgets the prescribed, prepunched cliches of the GDR's political jargon and becomes very personal, or roguish? But such things as that very rarely happen in the People's Chamber.

Perhaps it is the somewhat friendly, vaguely soporific atmosphere of the parliament on the Rhine in Bonn which repeatedly drives the representatives out of the hall, perhaps also the hardness and narrowness of the benches and desks. Persevering is easier for the delegates to the People's Chamber, if only for physical-psychological reasons. In the white brightness of the completely illuminated high room, sitting is by far much more comfortable in the deep, little-used cushions of the armchairs.

While last Friday the Bundestag held final discussions on the FRG's budget, the People's Chamber was also doing this with the East German budget and the economic plan for the coming year. Interestingly, the sums involved were almost the same--upwards of M260 billion; even if in a different currency. In the Bundestag the debate lasted 4 days and 40 hours in all. The People's Chamber went a little more than 4 hours. Stoph alone took almost half of it for his budget and plan speech. It was followed by a "comprehensive discussion," as it was later called in the "On-the-Spot Camera," the evening news broadcast on GDR television. Roughly one-quarter hour for each speaker from the nine fractions.

There was little variation in what the delegates of the Christian, Liberal and National Democrats, the farmers, the women and those involved in the cultural sector, the FDGB labor union and FDJ youth contributed to the discussion. The pattern with rather small variations: the leading role of the party of the working class was acknowledged which even the People's Chamber as the highest

state organ of power constitutionally obeys; then the work of General Secretary Honecker was boastingly praised, the pledge to the GDR and its socialism and to the brotherhood with the Soviet Union was not absent. Economy, society and culture in the country, in that way it was possible to learn, to develop magnificently; the delegate himself and the workers of his production cooperative or his state-owned enterprise contribute decisively to this, the numbers confirm that it will continue to improve in the future; therefore, the caucus gives "full agreement" to the bills on the floor.

Even in the choice of words what was said was guided by the tone and rhythm which 1 week before Honecker had struck in the SED's Central Committee. At 3:00 pm in response to his question whether there were abstentions or negative votes, Sindermann ascertained: "Such is not the case."

12124

CSO: 2300/165

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED'S MEANS FOR INCREASING CITIZEN CONTENTMENT LIMITED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Dec 84 p 1

[Article by J.G. Reissmueller: "A Fortress on Quicksand"]

[Text] In a surprising move at the beginning of this year the GDR permitted 20,000 of its inhabitants to leave for the FRG. If it wanted to repeat that--at any time it would easily get 20,000 people together who would like to emigrate, many times over. A substantial part of its population wants to move to our country. There are only conjectures as to how many. We do not even know the number of GDR Germans who have applied to the authorities for an exit permit; it is closely guarded in East Berlin like a state secret. Estimates range between one-fourth and one-half million.

But even if one of these were confirmed, we would still know little. Anyone over there who informs the state that he wants to leave damages the roots of his civil and economic existence. Only someone who has nothing to lose gets into that. Everything supports the idea that most East Germans who want to leave conceal their desire. Thus, if we want to measure the true scope of the urge to exit, we must multiply the number of applicants--but by how much?

But to believe that all inhabitants of the GDR really would want to leave would be wrong. Their large majority clings to the homeland, to relatives and friends, to their profession, to the modest prosperity which they have laboriously created for themselves. This majority wants to remain; and since it remains aloof from the regime, it retreats into private life.

This state, which they ignore in their living, does nonetheless have something to show. In the Soviet camp only Hungary has managed to develop controlled support services similar to what exists in the GDR. Within the bloc the East Germans are considered prosperous. Churches have been accorded autonomy; there are often surprising freedoms for writers and artists.

To be sure the heavy burdens remain: party rule with the nuisance of the party book which is part of it, the constant pressure of ideology, the omnipotence of the state security system, the waste of forces at the place of work which are imposed by the economic system, the daily shopping hassle, the travel bans.

Shouldn't their diverse contact with the West make all this a little bit easier for the inhabitants of the GDR? The stream of visitors from West Germany continues to increase; and those are not strangers who go there as in the other countries of the bloc, but rather relatives, acquaintances, at least people who speak the same language. There are always 10,000 pensioners on their way back and forth to the West; they, too, are looking for people who are close to them, and then at home they tell stories. FRG television has long since blanketed the GDR with the exception of some loose ends and replaced GDR television. Whatever happens in the world is learned by the Germans over there immediately and in detail. But not only the fact that all kinds of threads link the East Germans with the West Germans; the inhabitants of the GDR also know that the West German state, no matter who governs it, wants to make things easier for them.

All this is the consequence of the "German question," which actually becomes a question of the GDR. How aware the leadership is of this fact is apparent from its strong sensitivity to every word which is spoken in the FRG while casting a glance at the GDR and its people. West Germany is a second reality for authorities and subjects over there.

Contact with the West and dependence on it make life easier for the East Germans, but paradoxically they make them feel the burdens on this life as even more oppressive. What can the SED do to reduce this feeling of pressure and get closer to the people? In the foreseeable future it cannot decisively improve the material living conditions because the GDR economy has reached the limits of its capabilities--in the prevailing system. It needs a rather long period of consolidation; not until then will the leadership be able to set new ambitious goals. Acts of political relaxation in the GDR would scarcely be allowed by the Soviet Union which in any event regards East Berlin with mistrust because of its Germany policy. But even the SED does not feel secure enough for political reforms.

Meanwhile, with more room for movement in controls on travel to the West for its citizens--which is also a part of the political order--the SED might perhaps at least at some point bridge the gap to its people, their state, which often looks like a fortress on quicksand. Anyone who is permitted to travel to the FRG during the year, even if he makes no use of it loses the feeling of being locked in, which contributes so much to the urge to exit and to displeasure with the state. If he utilizes the new freedom of movement he will get more realistic conceptions of life in the West and of what he would have to take upon himself if he remained.

But confidence in the permanence of any such new emigration policy would develop only slowly; for a long time, therefore, many travelers to the West would not return. Could the SED put up with that? And what would the Moscow Politburo say to the fact that there would be even more (instead of less) movement in Germany then?

POLAND

# STRENGTHENING OF BONDS WITH USSR RECOMMENDED

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 48, 25 Nov 84 p 13

[Interview with Stefan Nawrot, secretary general of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship, by Ewa Olbrych; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] is celebrating its 40th anniversary this month. Anniversaries ordinarily bring to mind memories, allowing us to think about beginnings.

[Answer] The idea of forming such an organization occurred even earlier. Circles of friends of the Soviet Union, as they were then called, were formed by communists and sympathizers in areas liberated by the Red Army. A meeting of representatives of these circles was held in Lublin on 22 July 1944, where the TPPR designation arose for the first time and has remained so ever since.

[Question] It is known that every organization endows certain institutionalized frameworks to everything it affects, defining its forms and scope. Meanwhile, friendships, like all feelings, resist all thematic frameworks and simplifications. After all, it is people and not organizations that approach one another, become acquainted, establish certain common interests and goals, and finally become friends. Therefore, whereas we can define precisely the organization's scope of activity, the beginning of friendship cannot be determined with the same precision.

[Answer] If we are talking about friendship among peoples, then this friendship arose even then when it seemed that everything divided rather than united us. It is sufficient to recall the well-known example of Mickiewicz, Pushkin and the Decembrists. In fact, a common idea always unites peoples, some kind of common goal, of which the Great October Revolution is an excellent example. Thousands of Poles fought in the ranks of the Red Army. The names of Feliks Dzierzynski and Julian Marchlewski are well known. Also worthy of mention are such military commanders and commissars as Stanislaw Budzynski, Ignacy Gruszkowski, Roman Lagwa, Romuald Muklewicz, Jozef Unszlicht and Stefan Zbikowski, all in all about 100,000 Polish soldiers. Among them, 200 were awarded the Military Order of the Red Banner.



With regard to Polish independence, it should not be forgotten that the success of the revolution and Lenin's attitude on this subject were very important. Permit me to quote here Lenin's reply of 1 March 1920 concerning Polish-Soviet relations:

"We respect Poland's freedom just as we respect the freedom of every other nation ... We know that the partition of Poland by the German, Austrian and Russian capitalists was the greatest crime, that the partition condemned the Polish nation to many years of oppression when the use of the Polish language was considered a crime, when the entire Polish nation was of one mind: self-liberation from the three oppressors. Thus, we understand the hatred that filled Poland's soul."

[Question] This hatred, supported by well-defined resentments, brought about the excessive anti-Soviet attitude of the Second Republic.

[Answer] And it is those and not other alliances that are the reasons for our complete isolation in September 1939. Here it should be asked: Why in 1935 did the Polish Government torpedo the Eastern Pact initiative and refuse to conclude the multilateral military alliance with the Soviet Union, England, France and Romania that was proposed by the Soviet Government to jointly stand up to Hitler's Reich? We allied ourselves with the West, and in September 1939 our illusions were dashed brutally.

[Question] In the end, freedom came from the East.

[Answer] That is an undisputable fact. Friendship is always based on positive facts. Although Polish soldiers fought on all the fronts of World War II, Polish lands were liberated only by those who marched shoulder to shoulder with Soviet soldiers. Together they fought the common enemy, dreamed, went hungry, spilled blood and won. This friendship did not come about in some office, nor was it thought up. The other political and ideological justifications were important to, as we would say today, the decisionmakers at the highest levels. In the trenches, fraternal blood was the most important thing. The common struggle on the battlefields, from Lenino to Berlin, became the true test of friendship. No one who had experienced this struggle and who knows history can forget it. It also should be remembered that the Soviet Union proclaimed itself unequivocally in favor of an independent, strong and sovereign Poland of our border on the Oder-Neisse line; and of our regaining the western and northern territories, Szczecin, Wroclaw and Gdansk.

[Question] The Agreement on Friendship, Mutual Aid and Cooperation Between Poland and the Soviet Union that was signed 21 April 1940 is the legal confirmation of this fundamental turnaround in Polish-Soviet relations.

[Answer] Without this alliance and cooperation it would have been difficult for our country to extricate itself from the postwar ruins. Our society is unaware of the fact that the Soviet Union supplies 45 percent of Poland's total raw material needs. The supply of raw materials, fuels and production materials represent 75 percent of our total imports in this area. Our steel

mills cast about 230 million tons of steel from Soviet ore, or three-fourths of all steel articles in Poland, from the simplest articles to steel for bridges.

Polish-Soviet economic relations benefit both sides. If in the 1970's we were more farsighted and relied more on the Soviet market, cooperation and specialization, then these benefits would have been much greater and, what is more important, they would have been immune to the capitalist market fluctuations.

We paid a high price for the so-called opening to the West. And we are becoming more aware that our future and our country's development depend to a great extent on partner-based cooperation with the USSR and the entire socialist community. A long-term program to expand economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union to the year 2000 was signed by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Konstantin Chernenko. It is the first document of its kind in the history of mutual economic relations among the CEMA countries. The coordination of the state plans for socioeconomic development for 1985 and the 1986-1990 period that was executed at the recently concluded Moscow meeting of the Polish-Soviet Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation should facilitate the process of mutual integration and intensify the economic expansion of both our countries.

The Soviet Union is interested in Poland's economic development and its economic strength. Soviet aid is especially important today (in the form of credits and additional raw material supplies), alleviating the economic restriction imposed by the Western countries. We should not forget this.

[Question] Fortunately, the unprecedented anti-Soviet and antisocialist propaganda campaign conducted under the banner of Solidarity and crowned with the shameful desecration of Soviet soldiers, of whom 600,000 died on our soil and will remain here forever, is now behind us.

[Answer] The opponents of the socialist system in Poland appealed to the historical resentments that are inherent in the social consciousness, that have been formed over many generations and are based on negative events of the past. In association with this, our opponents took advantage of national symbols and played with emotions, emotions that, as is known, are changeable depending on the situation and political climate. Under the conditions of an extended, severe crisis, such as the last one, they fanned nationalistic and anti-Soviet feelings, using them in the political struggle. The fact that part of society was carried away with this emotion is also proof, unfortunately, of the propaganda-information errors that were committed over a period of years. We did not know how to depict the Soviet Union and our mutual relations in a realistic, reasonable manner. Patterned, superficial slogans and ostentatious phraseology were used in place of real information. This, in combination with the anticommunist propaganda of the West that was especially intense over the past several years, which made use of the method of falsehood and distortion, served its purpose. Traditionally, as has happened so many times in the past, our society, whose gaze is fixed on the West, forgets to whom we should be grateful for our western border, which is secure for the first time

in centuries. Security and peace are not given once and for all times. The present policy of the United States and the unequivocal designs of the revisionists and adventurists in the FRG are proof of this. The entire nation should be aware that strengthening friendly relations with the Soviet Union serves our most vital interests and guarantees the security of our borders.

[Question] You mentioned that the responsibility for such an awareness by our society lies to a great extent with faulty propaganda activities. Then it also is a reflection of TPPR's own activities.

[Answer] Naturally. In the past there were too many ostensible, superficial TPPR activities concerning holidays, and too little specific, more effective but very important day-to-day work to bring both nations closer together. We should not limit ourselves to holidays, to celebrating friendship. We simply have to depict the country, its problems and people, and above all to strive to expand direct contacts. This is the direction we should take.

[Question] At the same time there is still too little informational material, and the number of people able to travel to the Soviet Union to experience person-to-person contact is very limited.

[Answer] It is not that bad. At the end of the 1970's about 180,000 individuals journeyed annually to all corners of the Soviet Union. After 1980, for obvious reasons, the number of trips became very limited. Nonetheless, 5,000 individuals will take trips within the framework of exchanges between befriended provinces. Four hundred and fifty individuals travelled in 10 Friendship Coaches to Lenino. Next year there will be 50 such coaches. We would like each coach journey to be guided by a war veteran. This year 20,000 Poles visited the Soviet Union.

[Question] Compared to the nearly 200,000 people in 1979 and the vast amount of interest and demand, that is a mere drop in the bucket.

[Answer] Presently Orbis has the monopoly on organizing tourist trips to the Soviet Union. Of the 25,000 available places, we control 10,000. In truth, this is not much. For 2 years we have been striving to create our own tourist bureau. Unfortunately, for unknown reasons, the Main Committee for Tourism is torpedoing the effort. If we are going to expand contacts, we must propose our own program, but in the current situation we have practically no influence in the matter. Even 30,000 trips annually would be something. As it is, our activists are bitter and complain: What kind of friendship is this if we cannot visit these friends?

[Question] It is known that some barriers of an organizational, financial nature and the like cannot be overcome. What does the TPPR propose to do in this situation? How can information about the Soviet Union be expanded here?

[Answer] As indicated by the experiences of the last few years, poor knowledge of the history of Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations is being used with complete ruthlessness by the enemies of socialism and the opponents of the Polish-Soviet alliance. Therefore, our top priority task is to

increase the level of knowledge on these subjects. By avoiding simplifications, making use of the facts and an extensive analysis, we must and can elucidate the historical complexities of the fate of both nations. Above all, however, we must focus on today, the specific accomplishments in the economy, science, technology and culture. We must satisfy normal human curiosity about the everyday life of the average resident of Moscow, Leningrad and Riga.

[Question] We have been talking all this time about what must be done, but who will do it?

[Answer] Expressing it as simply as possible, it will be done by all people of good will who are sincerely concerned about the present and future of our country; those who are organized as well as those who are not. This also includes the press. We, on the other hand, will continue those activities that have proven effective to date. We have been implementing new initiatives for 1 year now. The strength of the organization and the effectiveness of the activities undertaken by it will be determined by the aktivs. Above all it is the aktivs who are meeting people in the field, in the workplaces and schools. They are the ones who must actually answer the numerous complicated questions that at times are asked. Every community requires a different approach, a different argument from those of interest to others. In this situation, our speakers and activists must be of the highest level and must be truly knowledgeable. We must not tolerate empty words and verbalism. In thinking about them, for example, a series of seminars were held this year in 12 regions. The lectures concentrated on three themes:

--Who is undermining the Polish-Soviet alliance and why,

--The alliance with the Soviet Union as a guarantee of Polish security,

--Economic cooperation with the Soviet Union as a guarantee of successful development.

In cooperation with the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], yearly postgraduate studies have been conducted since October 1983 on the USSR and Polish-Soviet relations. The first class has already graduated; 90 of the 135 students that were accepted finished their studies. They include representative of various trades and professions.

[Question] These initiatives, though important, are directed from above and are of a centralized nature. But the final results of the organization's activities will depend on the results of the primary cells, that is, the TPPR circles. I believe that a pronounced disproportion exists between the aktivs and most of the membership, which as a rule is passive.

[Answer] Everything, from initiative to effectiveness, depends, as usual, on people. Currently TPPR has 2,614,000 members. In July we conducted a random inspection of TPPR circles. There are 37,134 circles, of which 43 are school organizations.



It turned out that many disproportions exist among the individual provinces with regard to the number of TPPR members and circles, and with regard to the forms and methods of activities used. Katowice, Warsaw and Radom look best of all, and Legnica and Szczecin worst of all. As in all organizations, there are circles that pretend to be active, operating on paper. But there are those that are authentically active and are achieving significant results.

[Question] Could you give specific examples?

[Answer] Yes. In truth, the number of good ones is increasing. I will have to limit myself to a few of them. For example, the TPPR plant circle of the Turow Brown Coal Mine and the Miners House of Culture have been conducting for over 1 year a joint campaign, under the slogan "Getting Together," that presents the life, problems and achievements of the individual Soviet republics. This is occurring in the form of meetings, film festivals, and evenings of poetry or songs. Very often these meetings include regional foods.

The Polar Plant TPPR circle in Zagan includes a club for literature and film lovers. In addition, the circle collects documents and information on the results and forms of the plant's cooperation with the refrigerator plant in Minsk and Saratov.

Cieszyn's Celma TPPR circle can be proud of its various forms of activity. During the first half of this year we organized six discussions on the theme "Who Is Undermining the Polish-Soviet Alliance and Why." In addition, three contests on knowledge about the Soviet Union were held, and there were three meetings with guests from the Ryazan and Caucasus Automobile Factories. A Lovers of Leningrad Club was formed, and the circle joined the "Red Kalin" Soviet Book Club.

TPPR circles are operating very effectively in those plants that are cooperating closely with Soviet plants having similar production profiles.

[Question] The statistics indicate that almost one-half of TPPR's members are young people. My observations indicate that the young people are not very active.

[Answer] This is a phenomenon of a more general nature and should be the subject of separate considerations. Simply put, our young people in general are quite indifferent and shun all possible forms of organized, institutionalized activity. In the primary schools, however, it is very good. Every sensibly conducted activity takes root. The younger the children, the more eagerly they participate in all kinds of contests, shows, activities. As they mature, they begin to go their own ways, which at times, unfortunately, often lead to a completely undesirable direction. Somewhere, at some given moment, they slip away from the arms of their parents and guardians.

[Question] The fact of the matter is that teachers are guardians less and less. They teach the subject program and that is all. TPPR circles somewhat



officially request teachers to learn the Russian language, but the teachers do not always have the time, capability or competence to go beyond the programmed minimum.

[Answer] And that is the root of the problem. School TPPR circles should not be an auxiliary school activity but an integral part of the school's complete upbringing process. Not only should the Russian language be included in the studies, but history, geography and preparatory instructions as well. The teachers could successfully teach these subjects as a group. Let us return to something that is obvious, that is, to people on whose involvement everything depends. One thing is certain: whenever personal contacts, meetings, joint campouts or seminars come into play, permanent bonds of friendship and sympathy are forged, which bear fruit later on.

[Question] Just as in the lyrics of that very popular Soviet children's song: a small stream becomes a river and friendship begins with a smile.

[Answer] At times it begins with very serious matters and official talks, and as time passes it is transformed into contacts that are practically of a familial nature.

Presently 25 Polish-Soviet clubs for economic cooperation are active in Poland. Within the framework of club activities, branch group trips are taken, roundtable conferences and contests on the best exporter to the USSR are organized. This year over 60 production plants were nominated to cooperate directly with Soviet plants, for example, Ursus with the Minsk Tractor Factory; Plock's Bizon Combine Factory with Rostov's Agricultural Machinery Factory; Cegielski Industry Enterprises with the Bryanskiy Construction Machinery Factory; PaFaWag with the Kalininskiy Railroad Car Manufacturing Association; and the FSO Automobile Factory with the Togliatti Plants. These are normal working meetings in the factory at the machines. One becomes acquainted with the work organization, the plant's problems, its specifics and people, and people get to know one another.

Today, scientific-technical cooperation is being conducted in practically all branches of the national economy. Soviet science and technology represents the highest world level in many fields. Our scientific-technical communities are benefiting more and more from the exchange of experiences. While these forms of contacts which we have discussed so far are not well known, the opposite can be said about cultural contacts, and little needs to be said about them because they are so obvious and so universal. But, after all, this is normal because it is through cultural contacts that nations draw closer together most of all; they create emotional bonds, which are always the most permanent ones. Soviet films, Russian and Soviet drama, ballet and literature are well entrenched in Poland.

[Question] Tickets for performances by Moscow's Bol'shoy Theater can be purchased without trouble only from scalpers and Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy and Shukshin can be obtained only if you have a friend working in a bookstore.

[Answer] Things will improve in this area. We have formed our own official publishing house, called Wspolpraca, which will provide readers with the

great Russian and Soviet literature. Sholokhov's "And Quiet Flows the Don" and Tolstoy's "The Path Through Suffering" will be available this year in the bookstores. Next year 30 additional titles will be available.

[Question] We began our talk with a return to the past. In conclusion, I think we should say at least a few words about the plans and goals for the near and distant future.

[Answer] I do not want to discuss programs because life always verifies programs and time is needed. But to me it is obvious that all forms of activity to promote friendship between our nations must be based on the awareness that Polish-Soviet cooperation, that is, between two nations that are very close geographically, politically, ideologically and ethnographically, is not the idea of politicians but a mutual need. In the present world situation, Polish-Soviet friendship takes on special significance. Strengthening it should not only be a heartfelt and logical duty; it should be characterized as being vital to us. Poland needs a strong Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union needs a strong Poland.

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POLAND

KISZCZAK REVIEWS DEVELOPMENT, MISSION OF MO, SB

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10, Oct 84 pp 5-18

[Article by Czeslaw Kiszczak: "In Service of the Nation and the Socialist State of Poland"]

[Text] In July 1944, in the liberated Polish lands between the Bug and the Wisla, the provisional organ of executive authority created by a law of the People's Council in Poland [KRN] began its work. The program of the new democracy contained in the PKWN [Polish Committee of National Liberation] July Manifesto marked the beginning of political, social and economic transformations. It marked the start of a new stage in the history of the Polish state and nation.

The implementation of this program, embarked upon by the camp of the Polish Left with the communists at the head, took place under the extremely complex and difficult circumstances of tremendous biological and material losses. The war continued. The defense effort of the people's state engaged the major forces of the new authority, despite the limited potential of Poland, ruined by the occupation. At the same time, in the liberated lands, the seeds of administrative structures were just germinating; they were taking on the tremendous load of tasks that often exceeded human capabilities.

There began the time of the great patriotic effort, of great national heroism. On the ruined, scorched lands of Poland, sown with thousands of graves, the working people resurrected a new state of their own.

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The Polish Workers Party [PPR] in Poland and the Polish communists in the USSR, banded together in the Union of Polish Patriots [ZPP], organized the people's defense forces and built into their programs the concept of a new Poland. They recognized as indispensable the creation of organs guaranteeing its security and standing in guard of peace and public order, protecting the life and property of citizens. This belief was dictated by the logic of history, above all by the experiences of past revolutionary uprisings of the working masses, especially the proletarian revolution in Russia. They were stated generally in the works of Vladimir Lenin who, stressing the need to upset

the old bourgeois state machinery, also formulated the concept of the nature and tasks of the proletarian militia as a defense tool of the working class in the struggle to implement the socialist revolution.

Under the conditions specific to Poland, there were also the tradition and memory of the People's Militia from 1918-1919. They brought home the initiative of the PPR and the ZPP to Polish society that was made up of various political camps of a progressive nature.

For the Poles, the class struggle over a new political and social order already had begun before the liberation of Chelm and Lublin. Its beginnings are to be found in the years of the occupation, at the time of the active emergence of the Leftist anti-Hitler conspiracy and the Leftist underground army in occupied Poland. Beginning in 1943, the leaders of the London underground, disturbed by this fact, embarked upon expanding and activating its counterespionage, police and repression cells directed against the Left, particularly the PPR.

A Rightist extremist group, the National Armed Forces [NSZ], took on the struggle against the Polish Left for its own primary purposes. It was unflagging even in the face of the treacherous murders of the partisans of the People's Guard and then those of the People's Army, people associated with the camp of the Left and democracy. Many years after the war, it was admitted publicly that the murder of 26 partisans of the People's Guard near Borowoy on 5 August 1943 was the beginning of attempts to start a civil war.

The Polish Left and, together with it, the entire democratic camp, drew from the occupation years a stern lesson in class and political realism, stripped as it was of many of its illusions and hopes. The visions of the bourgeois and the Polish worker-peasant class could not coexist.

The political realism of the democratic camp was expressed in the reorganizing of the security and public order apparatus, without drawing from the cadre base and the models of bourgeois Poland. Class realism was expressed in concern for the worker-peasant origins of this apparatus and for its patriotic and ideological identification with the program of the revolutionary and progressive socialist changes announced in the Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation.

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The KRN law dated 21 July 1944, concerning the creation of the PKWN, set up the ministry of public security as its component part. The organization of the ministry had already begun in Chelm. In the first days of its existence, it had only a few employees that were joined by 16 officers and noncommissioned officers from the Storm Battalion of the Polish People's Army. At the beginning of August, a group of people that had been receiving training in a 3-month course at Kuibyshev since May 1944 went to Lublin and began to serve in the security apparatus. These included noted officials of the ministry of internal affairs--comrades Stefan Bobrecki, Zdzislaw Kubiak, Mikolaj Krupski and Boleslaw Marczak. Some of them are still serving

faithfully in the ministry or are supporting its work to the extent that their energies and possibilities permit while benefiting from a well-deserved rest in their retirement.

The ministry reinforced primarily the groups of members of the PPR and the AL [People's Army] as well as the former employees of the KPP. This cadre created the basic nucleus of the security apparatus, the central group for training and seasoning the new officials of the Security Service. The latter came from among workers and peasants with their own PPR origins that likewise belonged to the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] and SL [Peasant Party]. A significant percentage of unaffiliated workers and peasants, primarily young people, was also recruited for the ministry cadre.

At the same time, a new organ of public order, the Citizens' Militia [MO], was born. In July 1944, the PKWN passed a decree disbanding the State Police and began working on a draft decree to set up the MO. This important legal document, passed and published in the DZIENNIK USTAW on 7 October 1944, proclaimed that the Citizens' Militia is the public legal unit of the security and public order service and that it belongs to the ministry of public order.

The taking effect of this decree signified the legal sanctioning of the already existing state of affairs. In the liberated lands, the initiative of the partisan units, local workers of the PPR and people's councils and society led to the often spontaneous creation of the first militia units, commands and posts. PKWN representatives, most often officers of the reborn Polish Army and partisans of the People's Army, assigned to already operating military task forces, took an active part in organizing many of the first MO units. Likewise, the organizers and officials of the newly appointed militia included PPS and SL activists and former members of the Home Army, the Peasant Battalions and other anti-Hitlerite organizations. In December 1944, the militia totaled more than 13,000 employees.

In creating the new apparatus of security and public order, the camp of the Left and of progress, in particular the PPR, demonstrated not only great organizational energy but, above all, the political maturity to exercise this authority. For the PPR, the development of this apparatus was an unending subject of concern over its character. The communists viewed it as the major guarantor of the implementation of the PKWN program, a primary force capable of struggling for progressive change, ensuring the security of the people's authority. From its beginning, the party cells of the PPR worked actively within it. The major task that party organizations set for themselves was to care for the political and moral training of employees of the apparatus that were party members, to maintain the link of this apparatus with the political life of Poland and above all with the work of the party.

Thus, upon the initiative of the PPR, a large number of AL partisans emerged from the forests to join the security and public order apparatus. The influx of people with combat experience that also were associated in class and ideology with revolutionary forces strengthened the apparatus, making it an effective tool for protecting the new system.



It became not only the guarantor of the idea of democracy, but also an excellent example of its realization. This is shown by its social makeup. By the end of 1945, over 66 percent of the MO officers were workers and almost 23 percent were peasants. Thus, the class aspect of the apparatus was clearly proletarian.

The immediate support given to the apparatus by the party and youth aktiv was vitally important. This form of assistance in the struggle gave birth to the ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia] organization as a real, politically committed force in the struggle with all forms of crime.

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The camp of democracy and progress that assumed power in July 1944 in the liberated part of Poland encountered the stubborn resistance of reactionary forces from its first days. The creation of the security and public order apparatus as the armed branch of the revolutionary social forces was of key importance to the preservation and defense of the people's authority.

Still during the period of the work of the PKWN, despite the saturation of the field with the frontal units of the Soviet and Polish Armies, incidents of the murder of members of the PPR, the ZWM [Union of Young Fighters] and the members of the parcel brigades that divided up area land were relatively numerous.

The August PKWN decree concerning the mobilization of soldiers from four annual lists into the reborn Polish Army was met with a total boycott and censure by the leaders of the London camp. The class interests of the bourgeois and the reaction had gained ascendancy over the interests of the nation. Despite the ongoing war with Hitler's Third Reich, for the extreme Polish Right, the Soviet Union and the PKWN were the major enemy.

The Rightist forces that stayed underground still continued to exert some influence over society. The Home Representation of the London government-in-exile and the National Unity Council remained the command centers of this underground. Their purpose was to counterbalance the KRN and they tried to gain workers and peasants through the use of pseudoprogressive slogans. The Home Army was to be the major defense force of the Right. After its formal dissolution in January 1945, a part of its cadre became the nucleus of the new Armed Forces Representation created in May 1945 and then of the "Freedom and Independence" organization created in September of that year.

The leaders of parts of groups from the reactionary national camp, in particular its military organizations, the National Armed Forces and the National Military Union, took an enemy stance against the program of the Polish Left.

The leadership bodies of reactionary groups, unyielding in their enmity against the forces of the Left and the democratic camp and blinded by anti-Sovietism, used aggressive propaganda and an exhibition of falsely construed loyalty to draw in some of the members of the resistance movement that had been involved during the war in the anti-Hitler conspiracy from primarily patriotic motives.

The terrorist activity of the Rightist underground increased markedly after the front line shifted to the west in the spring of 1945. According to data estimates, by the end of 1945 about 8,000 people lost their lives at the hands of the underground. Of these, 80 percent were PPR members. About 35 percent of the dead were officers of the security and public order apparatus. This data not only shows the intensity of the fratricidal class struggles but also the role and place of this apparatus in the battle to preserve democracy.

The armed underground advances took in almost the entire country. They were particularly intense in the Lublin, Bialystok, Rzeszow, Warsaw, Kielce, Lodz and Krakow provinces. There the local scene assumed the character of a civil war.

Between 1944 and 1948, 3,500 different illegal political organizations and armed reactionary groups existed and were active in Poland.

During this period, the underground committed 54,800 different terrorist and antistate acts. This figure includes 6,124 raids on the headquarters of offices and institutions and 1,030 attacks on state railways and bridges.

The battle against the reaction and against bands of Ukrainian nationalists cost the lives of more than 12,000 officers of the security and public order apparatus, soldiers of the KBW [Internal Security Corps], the WOP [Frontier Guard] and the WP, as well as members of the ORMO. Such was the price of the fratricidal conflict thrust upon us and forced by the camp of the Right. Still today, the traces of this conflict, the lines of division then existing, leave faint tracks, and false and hypocritical assessments of the conflict disrupt national understanding.

The period of struggle over preserving and defending democracy has become fixed in the social consciousness mainly as a time of armed encounters. It should be kept in mind, however, that the new democracy did everything it could to avert the conflict and minimize its scope. While the Polish communists were fully aware of the inevitability of the class struggle, they made a tremendous effort to seek and implement political settlements that would allow repressive actions to be kept to the necessary minimum.

Still in 1944, the leaders of the PKWN public security ministry issued an appeal calling for the members of the underground to come out. They urged: "Tell everyone that has gone astray to hand over the weapons thrust into their hands by the enemies of the nation before it is too late, to leave the conspiracy and to end their infamous roving about the forests and their banditism against their own people and state..."

In June 1945, the minister of public security instructed the organs under his jurisdiction to begin an extensive campaign of agitation to bring about a voluntary yielding of weapons and to bring the members of the underground to give themselves up to the authorities in exchange for a guarantee of immunity.

The amnesty decree of 2 August 1945 was of tremendous importance in terms of prevention. It created broad and easy possibilities for those that remained

in the underground after the end of the war and acted against the democracy to break with it. Thanks to the amnesty, about 42,000 people from different groups of the Rightist camp came out of the underground or imprisonment and joined in the peaceful rebuilding of Poland.

Less than 19 months later the next amnesty was announced. More than 55,000 people took advantage of it. Subsequent amnesties were announced on 22 November 1952 and 27 April 1956. The latter marked a definitive end to a painful chapter in the most recent history of People's Poland. As a result of it, the vast majority of those punished from 1944 to 1955 for activity against the democracy were freed from prison.

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To view the share of the security and public order apparatus in building the framework of the people's state solely through the prism of the struggle with the reactionary underground would be incorrect and one-sided. The achievements of the Security Service [SB] and the Citizens' Militia were much more extensive and complex.

From the first days of the organization of the security apparatus and the militia until May 1945, they functioned under conditions of wartime encounters with Hitler's Germany. Thus, for more than 9 months, they performed many additional tasks that emanated from the active participation of Poland in the struggle against the German occupation. Officers of security and the militia, supported by the soldiers of the people's Polish Army, waged an intensive struggle to protect calm and order at the Polish base of the front and in the front line zone, performing tasks appropriate to wartime conditions. Special groups of the security ministry infiltrated the German front to take part in diversionary-sabotage and reconnaissance actions. In the front line areas, UB [Security Administration] and MO units worked together with the army to clear the area of defeated and dispersed Hitler detachments and to organize anti-aircraft defense, food supply and transport. The broad and varied scope of these tasks likewise emanated from the fact that the new security offices and militia commands were, as a rule, one of the first elements of the state apparatus in the liberated areas.

For example, the spontaneously organized militia units in Poznan operated in a special situation. Here, after the German resistance was crushed in the city, the defeated German garrison hid in the citadel. Groups of Polish volunteers numbering 2,000 that were organized by the local MO commands took part in the last historic storming of the Poznan Citadel.

Both during wartime activities and after the end of the war, the militia took part in finding and eliminating Hitler spy groups left behind by the retreating occupation forces or penetrated through the front line. In Olsztyn, the employees of the KW [Provincial Committee] MO uncovered a radio broadcasting station, capturing four SS-men during the liquidation of the station and killing four SS-men in the struggle. In Zamosc in April 1945, officers captured two German spies that had been dropped off in this area.

A great deal of effort was required to rid Poland of the remnants of the German occupation, to find the members of the former Hitler police and administrative apparatus, confidants and persons in the service of the occupation. In the postwar years, 276 co-workers in German reconnaissance, 2,678 former gestapo employees and agents and more than 16,000 members of the SS and leadership bodies of the National Socialist Party and SA were discovered and apprehended.

The extensive evidence amassed through the sacrificial and hard work of the security and militia organs laid the foundation for the bringing to justice of many groups of German war criminals by the Polish system of justice. A significant portion of this information was submitted to the International Military Tribunal and to the organs of prosecution and the administration of justice of other states.

The protection of state and public property in the first days after the liberation attested to the patriotic attitude of UB and MO officers as well as to their deep understanding of the historical importance of the changes that were occurring. The officers guarded factories, labor shops and warehouses, protecting them against theft, destruction and fire. Considerable economic potential and much equipment were saved; publicly used facilities were also rescued. Extensive protection was ensured to citizens themselves and to their property.

The sacrifices of officers in protecting national cultural treasures also deserve to be especially remembered. In Krakow, only a few hours after the liberation of the city, the militia organized a special group that protected the Wawel until an appropriate administrative system was set up. In Malbork, officers facilitated the security and the setting in order of museum and archival collections in the castle. The MO KW in Poznan guarded the valuable collections of Polish art that had been plundered by the Germans and had been taken to Bronislawek. In Cieplice, in July 1945, officers found and guarded three railroad car loads of exhibits stolen by the Hitlerites from the National Museum in Warsaw. These examples represent only a tiny fragment of the long list of these and similar actions.

The regained western and northern lands of Poland are an area in which socio-political and economic life was restructured from its very foundations. Here the officers showed their civic attitude and their patriotic commitment both by guarding and protecting property and by organizing the tremendous population resettlement project, as well as by bringing these lands into cultivation in sowing and harvest campaigns. The battle against rampant looting, causing enormous material losses and inestimable moral damage in many of the regained cities and rural areas, was of great importance.

In the recovered lands, a tremendous effort was necessary to protect the life, health and the property of citizens against everyday crime. In some cities--Wroclaw, Walbrzych, Dzierzoniowo and Szczecin--through the end of 1948, the growth of crime continued to be above that of the other regions of Poland.



The campaign to expose and seize weapons found in the possession of citizens was very important for the reduction of the scope of everyday crime throughout Poland, especially murders, robberies and banditry. As a result of the actions of the organs of security and the army from 1944 to 1948, people gave up voluntarily or indicated the hiding place of 36,171 firearms and a large amount of ammunition.

A test of the efficiency and ideological commitment of the young security and public order apparatus was its share in implementing the 6 September 1944 decree on agricultural reform. The officers guarded the estates designated for distribution and they safeguarded the work of the teams that parceled out the land, often joining these teams themselves.

Likewise, the apparatus performed vital tasks during the period of the popular referendum and elections to the Legislative Sejm. Essentially all UB and MO officers and more than 28,000 members of ORMO took part in guarding the security of polling places and the activists that conducted the explanatory campaign, as well as participating directly in the propaganda-political campaign. Some of them paid for this with their lives, killed by the bullets of underground armed bands.

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Shortly after the end of World War II, the great anti-Hitler coalition began to fall apart, thus complicating the international situation. In the West, an anticommunist "crusade" and "cold war" with the Soviet Union and the states of the people's democracy were proclaimed. Liberated Europe was divided by the "iron curtain," an act of world imperialism.

"Cold war" is primarily covert reconnaissance, diversionary and propaganda aggression against the countries that make up the socialist community, including People's Poland.

The protection of the Polish state and its key political, economic and defense interests against external dangers--spying, sabotage and diversion--became the duty of the ministry of public security, especially its counterespionage organs. The scale of efforts and the scope of the actions of counterespionage and espionage organs at the "silent front" defy all description. This was and is the special nature and the quality of the actions countering the secret operations of the external opposition that resorts to every method, means and possibility in these operations. As a rule, the public is only informed of the outcome of complex, very complicated and sometimes extremely toilsome and dangerous efforts made by the officers of this service. This situation means that their role is not always evaluated properly and justly by society in general.

The best testimony to the commitment, the sacrifices and the heroism of the officers of Polish counterespionage and espionage is the tremendous scope of the dangers confronting them since the beginning of People's Poland.

Under the political patronage of the originators of the cold war, Western spy headquarters, in particular American intelligence, organized spy activity



against Poland on an unprecedented scale. Above all, the domestic and the foreign branches of various Polish organizations battling the newly arisen democracy were harnessed for this task. Many agents in the service of foreign intelligence came from the ranks of reactionary organizations--from "Freedom and Independence," the National Armed Forces and the National Democratic Party.

The camp of the Polish Right is still marked by the indelible, scandalous stamp of the "Berg affair." The Political Council created in 1949, uniting several emigre organizations and political parties inimical to Poland, sold itself out to American and British intelligence. Under the pretext of political action, it created two spy centers, the southern one in Berg near Munich and the northern one in Mulheim. It was from here that agents were sent to Poland to implement tasks assigned to them by Western intelligence. The so-called foreign delegation of WiN [Freedom and Independence] conducted similar activity. Following the 1950 signing of a formal agreement with U.S. intelligence, WiN centers were subject to American interests.

The rebuilding of the country destroyed by war, the changes occurring in Poland and the checking of the enemy underground, followed by its liquidation, meant that foreign intelligence began to change its base for recruiting espionage agents. American intelligence in particular turned its attention to Poles living in Western Europe that, for various reasons, had decided not to return to Poland or that had escaped from Poland illegally after the liberation. A certain number of persons from this community were serving in the so-called guard detachments of the American army in Europe, some of them were vegetating in the many West German refugee camps and others were unsuccessfully seeking possibilities of emigrating to the United States or of making easy money. Through blackmail and the vision of great material advantages, the spy network induced some of them to embark upon spy activity against Poland without any special difficulty. After completing training, many of them were sent back to Poland illegally to perform espionage tasks. The scale of the danger is shown by the fact that in 1955, as a result of the activities of Polish security organs, 17 agents thrust into Poland by various illegal means from only one American espionage center in Frankfurt-am-Main were arrested.

American espionage did not hesitate to take advantage of the anticommunist "crusade" of former Hitlerites. Directly following the end of the war, in West Germany, under the patronage of the Americans, an intelligence organization was set up, led by Hitler's General Gehlen. The creation and development of Gehlen's organization were typical examples of the U.S. violation and evasion of agreements made between the Allies concerning the de-Nazification of Germany. U.S. intelligence protected a large group of German criminals that were guilty of crimes against humanity (Klaus Barbie, for example) from accountability. Gehlen's organization, against whose destructive work aimed at Poland the security apparatus struggled self-sacrificingly, later became the espionage service of the FRG that is still very active today on the covert anti-Polish front.

Western intelligence also used for spying purposes the remnants of the former allies of the Third Reich, members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

and the Ukrainian Insurrection Army [UPA]. One of the spy networks created among the members of the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] and the UPA by British intelligence was liquidated in Poland in 1954. From 1945 to 1956, the Polish military courts convicted 716 persons of spying.

The Security Service [SB] became invigorated and seasoned in the battle on the "silent front." Dozens of its officers, without publicity, almost anonymously, confirmed within it their class commitment, their deep patriotism and their sense of sacrifice. Theirs is an important and major contribution to the building of the framework of the homeland and to its development, as well as to its protection against foreign penetration and attempts to weaken it.

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Under the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party and socialist authority, our country has traveled the road for 40 years, resolving tremendous problems, consolidating important political, social and economic changes that define the present-day reality of our lives and building the superior international authority of Poland based on a permanent alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

In the process of building socialism, the efforts of the party and society have been accompanied by the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs--by its peacetime service for the nation and the socialist state.

Many new tasks, different from those of the initial period of the work of security organs, emanate from the development of the international situation. In the past and now, this situation has impacted directly on the state of endangerment to the internal security of the state. The process of detente in international relations, initiated in the second half of the 1950's and, until the end of the 1970's, building the hopes of the nations of Europe and the entire world for a lasting peace and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, nonetheless has not meant the lessening of the degree of internal danger for Poland and for the other socialist states.

To the SB has fallen the major burden of protecting Polish counterespionage efforts against the espionage and spying penetration of the special services of the West, especially the NATO states, that have made intensive use of the development of multilateral international contacts and the systematic growth of the international travel of individuals to this end. The development of the economic potential of Poland has led to the need for more and more effectively protecting the national economy against economic espionage and other external actions that are detrimental to the economic interests of the state.

From 1960 to 1980, as a result of SB activities, the Polish courts convicted 239 persons of spying and cooperation with foreign special services.

During this period, centers of ideological, political and propaganda diversion led by the Paris KULTURA and Radio Free Europe, that were steered and financed by NATO special services, especially by the American Central Intelligence Agency,

developed broad anti-Polish activity. Inspired by these centers and supported by them in every way, antisocialist groups embarked upon various types of activity. These groups included such illegal organizations arising in the second half of the 1970's as the Social Self-Defense Committee KOR, the Movement for the Defense of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the primary organs of antisocialist diversion in Poland. The SB invested a great deal of effort into restricting and neutralizing this enemy activity. When, beginning in mid-1980, the process of the anarchization of political and social life in Poland created for antisocialist forces the possibility of developing diversionary, anti-Polish and anticommunist activism on a broader scale, leading to the domination by these forces of the newly arisen NSZZ [Independent, Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity and to its transformation into a political movement openly aimed at confrontation with the party and the authorities as well as to the overthrow of socialism by force, the Security Service and the Citizens' Militia, supported by the forces of the Polish Army, effectively averted the danger, contributing to the stabilization of domestic life and calm among the citizenry.

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Now as in the past, the socioeconomic and cultural development of Poland confronts the organs of public order with ever new problems. In the mid-1950's, the definitive end to the liquidation of the major negative phenomena that were the consequences of the war meant that the MO could focus its attention on performing its basic function--that of protecting the life, the health and the property of citizens under conditions of normal, stabilized social life.

The struggle against all sorts of manifestations of crime absorbed its major effort. The incontrovertible values of the socialist system that eliminates from social life many types of degeneration, restores social equality, the dignity of life and the work of the broad masses and brings about the comprehensive development of the consciousness and the personality of citizens, has had a marked impact on reducing the scope of crime. MO activism has bolstered the changes occurring in this field.

The state of crime in Poland, assessed on the basis of multiyear data, shapes up at a level that is markedly lower than that of the so-called Western democracies. This assessment remains unchanged by the growth of crime in the past few years that is the clear and direct consequence of the socioeconomic crisis. Polish society does not know the terrorist phenomena that occur on a massive scale in the West, the kidnappings for ransom, the universal illegal trade in drugs, the use of firearms by criminals and the trade of "hot items." In our country, such occurrences happen on an individual basis or they do not take place on a broad scope. They are counteracted immediately by the militia and they never go unpunished.

The MO serves the socialist society. From this service role emanate the major tendencies that characterize its work that has assumed various forms in past decades. A special characteristic of the Polish militia is the tremendous stress it places on preventive measures. Aware that crime at the fringes of

society will not be able to be eliminated entirely, we attach great importance to checking and eliminating the sources and causes of crime. The battle against all types of crime, against social ills--prostitution, alcoholism and the depravation of juveniles and children, as well as social parasitism are important directions of activity for us. As in the past, we continue to find on this front many allies among the various institutions and organizations that are interested in this set of issues. However, we must also state that we do not always get enough support from our allies. It also happens that the militia acts before other interested parties or replaces them when they do not act with enough vigor.

Preventive measures directed towards children and youth, characterized by humanitarianism and concern for the future of society, are worthy of special emphasis. Professional inspectors for juvenile affairs work with prevention in this field. Throughout Poland, there are, moreover, 31 MO children's chambers that take in more than 20,000 juveniles from age 3 to age 18 each year. In addition to providing emergency care and assistance, the chambers also act to improve care-upbringing conditions in local juvenile environments, they organize upbringing and social aid, they exercise individual patronage over families stricken with social ills and they conduct educational counseling for families.

Battling the negative phenomena that occur in the national economy, protecting cultural treasures from theft and illegal transport abroad, ensuring safety in transportation and motor vehicle traffic and counteracting manifestations of a drug habit--these are only some of the tasks in the extensive catalogue of duties of the MO. The discussion of the many aspects of work in service to the socialist state and the citizenry, which exceeds the framework of this article, is worth treating broadly and comprehensively. Making such a monograph available to society is an advisable and important task for scholars.

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Daily toil and effort as well as heroism and dedication have always marked the officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They have brought these qualities to Polish society during the 40 years of its socialist existence.

In the years when the officers of the newly arisen organs of security and public order had to serve more than once for bread and water alone, when their inseparable companions were cold and hunger, not only did they become injured. It was then that the glorious tradition was born. Today's ministry officers have inherited this tradition and continue it.

The 40-year history of the ministry was created above all by its officers. The class and the sociological cross-section of ministerial cadres attests to the growth rate of social and professional advancement in our ranks. For thousands of officers and noncommissioned officers, especially people of the older generation that attended the ministerial schools without the traditional requirements, service in the SB and MO became the fulfillment of their lifetime opportunity. It meant a lifetime career for the sons of workers, stable hands and peasants.



The systematic increase in the level of training of ministerial cadres is a vital element impacting on ministry development and the performance level of duties. In 1945, less than 0.4 percent of the officers had a higher education, while in 1960 this figure was 2.1 percent. In 1983, 22 percent of the officers had a higher education. The possession of a higher education by every officer has now become a requirement for the cadre in the ministry.

Higher education in the ministry of internal affairs, distinguished by a high teaching and training level and a good schooling and learning base, is a very important factor in the development of highly qualified cadres. Ministerial schooling ensures officers the possibility of raising their professional qualifications and their general qualifications to a level needed for their service requirements. The Academy for Internal Affairs, the central ministry element of the training system, cooperating daily with higher civilian and military education, is expanding its scholarly-research and teaching activity.

It is in the nature of service in the ministry that one that embarks upon it not only chooses a profession but also makes a political statement. An employee of the ministry is a state official, a trained specialist, a committed ideological mold of socialist reality devoted to the party and democracy, characterized in his personal life and professional work by high ethical values, humanism, a sense of responsibility and discipline. The vast majority of SB and MO officers are such people. Those that are unable to meet these high requirements leave the service themselves. In a small number of cases, when we are confronted with the violation of ethical principles and the rules of professional behavior, we counteract this decisively and radically.

Monitoring the legality of actions and the purity of our ranks is a major concern of the ministry leaders and superiors at all levels. The activism of party echelons and organizations and the work of the political-educational apparatus functioning within the ministry effectively serve the attainment of this goal.

During the last 40 years, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has traveled a complex road of development. From an organization serving to protect the worker-peasant social revolution, it has developed into a modern, tested, deeply ideological organ of the developing socialist state capable of guarding its security in the face of every kind of internal and external danger.

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The socialist development of Poland has not been free from error. In 1956, 1970 and 1980, this led to social crises. History has not spared us our tragedies, the tragedies of the party and the nation.

When the valid working-class protest became confronted with departures from the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialism and deviations from the accepted social goals of building socialism, conflict situations and encounters arose involved human victims. In extremely dangerous situations, when protests that initially were well-aimed metamorphosized into destructive attacks on the legal order, the indispensable means of force were used, based on the decisions



of the highest party and state authorities. The democracy could not tolerate anarchy that threatened the stability and the potential of the state. In all conflict situations, the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW], performing their legal duty of restoring public order and calm, have always acted with restraint and caution, demonstrating great political maturity.

In performing their historic mission, the officers have restored public order and calm to the citizenry; they have guarded the homeland against the anti-Polish actions of imperialistic diversionary centers and the internal enemies of socialism. They have done this with great dedication and commitment, risking their lives and their health. Averting the danger of civil war, the anarchization of domestic life and the breakdown of social structures, they have shown class faithfulness to the democracy and devotion to the highest interests of the nation.

More than once in difficult times, the fraternal cooperation of the soldiers of the Polish Army and SB and MO officers, born at the threshold of the liberation, has been confirmed.

Today the MSW focuses its attention on implementing tasks aimed at facilitating the speedy emergence of Poland from the socioeconomic crisis. We are conducting a more and more intensive and effective struggle against the social and economic woes that plague society, against economic excesses, speculation tormenting citizens, parasitism and the continued increase in the rate of crime. The 16th PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum gave us new incentives for stepping up this struggle.

It is the will of the party, the government and the vast majority of Polish society that negative phenomena and all types of crime be counteracted effectively. In conjunction with this, the Council of Ministers Committee for Affairs of the Observance of Law, Public Order and Social Discipline was created to unite and integrate the efforts of all those institutions and organizations that are interested in this set of issues, including the MSW.

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The 40 years of the existence and work of the security and public order apparatus is a period long enough to allow us to reflect in an objective manner, properly assessing the past and its impact upon the present day. The officers of the MSW have demonstrated their self-sacrificing efforts and their commitment to the service of our nation and socialist state many times in the most difficult tests of history. They defend the achievements of the socialist homeland, creating the indispensable conditions for its growth. They stand guard of the law and public order of the entire Polish society, faithful to their patriotic and internationalist duties.

8536

CSO: 2600/270

ROMANIA

RCP CC GREETES SWEDISH LEFT PARTY COMMUNISTS CONGRESS

AU081510 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Jan 85 p 3

[Message addressed by the RCP Central Committee to the Congress of the Left Party Communists of Sweden, held on 2 January 1985]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

On behalf of the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we convey to the delegates to the Congress of the Left Party Communists [VPK] of Sweden and all the party members warm, comradely greetings.

Romanian communists follow with keen interest and feelings of solidarity the activity carried out by the VPK of Sweden in defending the interests of the Swedish working people and in strengthening the unity of action of all workers, democratic, and progressive forces with a view to fulfilling the Swedish People's aspiration for peace, democracy, and social progress.

We take this opportunity to express our satisfaction with the fruitful relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the VPK of Sweden.

We believe that the further development of cooperation between our parties will strengthen friendship and cooperation between the Romanian and Swedish people, will expand the good relations between Romania and Sweden, and will serve the cause of peace, security, and detente in Europe and throughout the world.

The recent development of events has demonstrated that we are going through a decisive stage for the future of mankind and that we are facing the problem of either continuing the arms race, which would inevitably lead to a nuclear catastrophe, or halting this dangerous trend of events, resuming the policy of detente, and ensuring peace. That is why we believe that everything should be done to unite the efforts of all progressive forces and all peoples for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and for safeguarding the vital rights of peoples and nations to existence, life, and peace.

The RCP, in this context, attaches great importance to the peace movement in Europe and throughout the world. This movement succeeded in drawing the governments' attention to the seriousness of the current international situation and in making them meet the choices of the broad masses halfway. That

is why now, more than ever before, we should intensify the struggle for peace and cooperation with peace movements everywhere, in order to make reason and the sense of responsibility for the destiny of people's triumph and to achieve a new course in resolving the complex international problems in the interest of peace, independence, and freedom for all nations.

Taking into consideration the serious international situation, particularly the developing countries' serious economic situation, we believe that the economic problems, underdevelopment, developing countries' foreign debts, and the establishment of a new world economic order should be dealt with in a new and realistic manner.

According to our party's views, in resolving all complex problems that confront mankind, one should start from the unswerving observance of the principles of interstate relations, of full equality of rights, respect for each nation's independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of the use and threat of force, and respect for each people's right to choose its socioeconomic development path without any outside interference.

In this context, major importance belongs to the understandings and cooperation, based on equality and mutual respect, between communist and socialist parties, social democratic parties, and other workers and democratic forces on the broad platform of the struggle for freedom and national independence, detente, peace, and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. Our party will continue to make an active contribution to the fulfillment of these goals.

We extend our wishes for success to the proceedings of your congress in carrying out the decisions you will adopt and in your activity devoted to the cause of peace and international cooperation.

The RCP Central Committee

CSO: 2700/75

ROMANIA

MPRP'S BATMONH THANKS CEAUSESCU FOR CABLE

AU071950 Bucharest SCINTELA in Romanian 4 Jan 85 p 4

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

Permit me to express thanks to you and through you to the fraternal Romanian people for the warm congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of my being elected to the position of chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Mongolian side also believes that the relations of friendship and close cooperation between our parties and people's will further develop for the well-being of our people's and in the interest of unity among the countries of the socialist community and the cause of peace and socialism.

I take this opportunity to wholeheartedly wish you much health and great successes in your activity devoted to fulfilling the decisions put forward by the 13th RCP Congress and to the cause of peace and cooperation among nations.

Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic.

CSO: 2700/75

ROMANIA

COUNTRY SUFFERING EFFECTS OF HEAVY SNOWS

Efforts to Clear Roads

AU090958 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0954 GMT 9 Jan 85

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Jan (AGERPRES)--The heavy snows and the snowstorm of particularly high intensity which have strongly affected a large number of European countries have also fallen on Romania especially in the South Banant, Oltenia, Muntenia and Dobrogea.

These weather conditions brought about a special situation in the course of economic activities in industry, agriculture, transport and telecommunications as well as in other sectors.

A series of measures have been taken on site and in economic units and forces have been mobilized to overcome this situation.

Action is taken to remove the effects of the snowstorm to ensure a normal unfolding of activities, to clear ways and national roads so as to adequately supply industrial and farm units with raw and subsidiary materials and to properly operate water and energy supply.

The population was called upon to take an active part in removing the effects of the snow storm so that economic and social activities and traffic on public roads should unfold in proper conditions.

According to weather reports, heavy snow falls will continue in the next two or three days.

Meteorologists warned that heavy precipitations will keep falling in Romania in the next 48 hours, totalling 15 litres per sq. m. In 24 hours the thickness of the snowbed will grow by 20-25 cm in Oltenia, the north, west and centre of Moldavia. The windspeed will reach 60-80 km, causing snowstorms in the south and east of the country where the snowdrifts will be one meter high here and there.



## **Danube Traffic, Power Generation Affected**

**AU101146 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1100 GMT 10 Jan 85**

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jan (AGERPRES)--The flow of the Danube is going down in the Buzias-Turnu Severin sector as well as in the Giurgiu-Tulcea one, and up in the Gruia-Zimnicea sector. There is a maintained tendency of the water flow to grow smaller, anticipations putting it down to 2,400 cu.m. per second from the 4,900 cu.m. per second January average several years. This bears a negative influence on navigation and power generation. Broken ice is flowing on between 30 and 80 percent of the water surface in the Bazias-Calarasi and Galati-Tulcea zones, turning navigation difficult.

Except for the Constanta Port, activity in the other parts is hindered by a 10 to 50 cm-thick layer of snow. Intense work is being carried out to remove it from railways and access roads.

## **Efforts To Normalize Railway Traffic**

**AU101527 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1437 GMT 10 Jan 85**

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jan (AGERPRES)--As a result of the energetic steps taken in Romania, railway traffic was not discontinued, yet there are delays in the departure and arrival schedule of passenger trains. These delays are due to adverse atmospheric conditions which affect also the international railway traffic (trains coming from Romania's territory some ten hours behind schedule, while those arriving from Bulgaria and Western Europe were nearly five hours late, to which are also adding delays registered on the internal railway system.)

The measures undertaken concentrate on normalizing the circulation of trains coming from or bound to students' and school children's winter holiday camps.

Special attention is also given to foodstuffs and fuel transport and to the circulation of trains carrying export products which are given top priority in railway transport.

Both equipment and thousands of people are involved in the efforts further deployed to fully normalize railway traffic.

## **Actions To Avoid Power Shortage**

**AU101901 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1721 GMT 10 Jan 85**

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jan (AGERPRES)--The heavy snowfalls registered in Romania in the last few days have created some difficulties in electric and thermal power supply, calling for energetic actions to be undertaken in order to avoid disruption of relevant activities. Special teams work in coal-fuelled thermal-electric plants to remove damage, repair mills and auxiliary equipment and clear away the snow piled up on access roads. Electric lines

run down by snowstorms were operatively put again into operation. In the conditions of this harsh winter, Romanian power engineers work hard to provide for the industrial units and home consumption power demands. In Hunedoara for instance, where 12 percent of Romania's electric power supply is produced, power engineers have ensured a normal run of activities, with the six power plants in the area working around the clock.

Jiu-Valley miners also work energetically to offset the effects of the last days' massive snowfalls in the region, to provide the coal required for thermal-electric plants, iron and steel units as well as for other sectors of the economy. In turn, miners in the Vilcea County coalfields cleared the roads for the transportation of lignite, they removed the snow bed covering the deposits, so that mining activities currently proceed in normal conditions.

Firm steps were also taken to provide a smooth railway traffice. In the Galati Railway Department, one of the areas most affected by the recent abundant snowfalls, whose activity covers the Galati, Braila, Buzau, Vrancea and Bacau Counties and part of the territory of Prahova and Ialomita Counties, efforts concentrated on clearing railway stations and tracks. At present, traffic in the above department (both passenger and goods trains) runs smoothly.

CSO: 2020/42

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

MPR PREMIER ACKNOWLEDGES DASCALESCU MESSAGE--Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, has received a cable from Comrade Dumaagiyn Sodnom in which the latter expresses thanks for the warm congratulations and good wishes extended to him on his appointment as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic.  
[Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Jan 85 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700/75

YUGOSLAVIA

CAVOSKI ARTICLE COMPARES LENIN, MACHIAVELLI

[Editorial Report] Kosta Cavoški, co-author of Vojislav Kostunica of "Party Pluralism or Monism," the 1983 controversial and scholarly study on how the Yugoslav CP established a one-party system rather than parliamentary democracy after 1945, has reportedly published an article "Revolutionary Machiavellianism" in the latest issue of FILOZOFSKE STUDIJE. According to the March-April 1984 issue of GLEDISTA, monthly organ of Belgrade University and the Serbian Youth League, (pp 165-175), Cavoški shows in this article how Lenin followed Machiavellian principles in seizing and "perpetuating a monopoly of power, while the goals in the name of which this was done were for him secondary compared to the basic question of state power." The article quotes Cavoški's definition of Lenin's revolutionary Machiavellianism as resting on the "belief that evil pays off if it is well used, like a skillful doctor giving tiny amounts of poison to a very sick patient." In applying Machiavelli's rule not to examine the moral ethics of individual means but only their effect, Cavoški notes that Lenin and the Bolsheviks made terror, hostage-taking, firing squads, the murder of minors and innocents, legal nihilism, and show-trials the widely-used means of taking and maintaining power.

At the same time, he cites differences between Lenin and Machiavelli, such as: instead of the state, it is the revolution that justifies every evil act; unlike Machiavelli where good and evil were always clearly recognized, Lenin's revolutionaries blurred this differentiation, "relativizing the conflict between good and evil and reducing it to differing social, especially class, interests"; Machiavelli's rulers set for themselves relatively achievable goals, while the representatives of revolutionary Machiavellianism act in the name of unachievable, Utopian goals; and in contrast to Machiavelli, Lenin espoused legal nihilism. In conclusion, he says: "Today when all the practical results of such a [Machiavellian] standpoint are more or less known, it can no longer be justified. Even less justifiable is the acceptance of the basic principle of revolutionary Machiavellianism that everything is permitted to those who espouse the revolution; because evil remains evil also when committed in the name of the revolution."

In the May-June 1984 issue of GLEDISTA (pp 145-152) Cavoški expands on his thesis, in refuting criticism contained in the review of his article in the March-April 1984 issue by Ognje Pribicevic. Stressing Lenin's annihilation of other socialist forces, he says: "I tend to believe that the crushing of the socialist opposition was not done in order to build socialism and communism

but to establish a relatively permanent Bolshevik monopoly of power. Such a monopoly can be called communism; only this is not that communism in which freedom of each individual is the condition of freedom for all."

He concludes by rejecting Pribicevic's support for Lenin's view of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a higher type of social organization of labor compared to that of capitalism: "This [higher type of social organization] represents what Lenin thought was the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat," he says, not what it was found to be in practice, namely, "an earlier, even lower type of social organization."

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